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Peter Force*

By FREDERICK R. GOFF

A FEW years ago a shabby early American Bible, printed at Philadelphia in 1817, was left at the Library of Congress on approval. Ordinarily not much notice is taken of such a volume, but when this copy revealed that it contained the records of the family of Peter Force and that many of the entries were in his handwriting, sentiment overruled because the Library of Congress owes an obligation to the memory of Peter Force. This obligation is particularly apparent to anyone associated with the Library's Rare Books Division where so much of the original Force Library is housed at the present time. Since the Library's strength as a great repository of Americana would be seriously impaired if the Force Library were removed from it, we welcome the opportunity to describe in some detail a collection and a collector, both deserving of a wider understanding.

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 20, 1950. In the preparation of this paper I have drawn heavily on three sources of primary interest to the subject. These are Ainsworth R. Spofford, *The Life and Labors of Peter Force, Mayor of Washington* (in: *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, Volume 2, 1899, pp. 219-235); John Spencer Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 233-302; and Newman F. McGirr, *The Activities of Peter Force* (in: *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, Volume 42-43, 1942, pp. 35-82).

The renowned library of Americana formed by Peter Force was acquired for the Library of Congress at the price of $100,000 by Act of Congress dated March 2, 1867. In the special report which the then Librarian of Congress, Ainsworth R. Spofford, submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee concerning the Force Library he described it as "the largest and best collection of the sources of American history yet brought together in this country."[1]

For the moment we shall let this statement stand and review briefly some details of the life of a man whose library has been submerged although not lost in the staggering bulk of the collections at the Library of Congress. Born in New Jersey of good American parentage on November 26, 1790, Peter Force apparently enjoyed little formal education. His boyhood was spent largely in New York City where he learned the printer's trade. Earnestly applying himself to his work he won an honor of distinction in 1812, when at the age of 22 he was elected to the presidency of The New York Typographical Society three years after its foundation.[2] With a career as printer well launched, Peter Force also conducted himself creditably in the New York militia during the War of 1812.

Force took up his residence in Washington in 1815, when his employer, William Davis, having secured a contract for a portion of the printing of the federal government, sent him to the Capital to establish a press. By the end of the year the Congressional documents were being issued with the imprint of W. A. Davis. By 1819 Force's name had become publicly allied with that of Davis, and for the next seven years the firm of Davis & Force operated at Franklin's Head on Pennsylvania Avenue. The association with Davis appears to have terminated in 1826.

[1] *Special Report of the Librarian of Congress to the Joint Committee on the Library concerning the historical library of Peter Force, esq.* (Washington, 1867), p. 8.

[2] In the 1863 edition of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society Peter Force is listed as a former member. He joined the Society in February, 1812, at a time when the membership included about 125 individuals.

Meanwhile in 1823 Force had established a semi-weekly newspaper, *The National Journal,* which became a daily the following year.[3] He was also responsible for the publication of a *Directory for the Public Offices . . . in the Capitol,* which appeared in 1820; *The National Calendar,* "containing the names of all the officers and agents, civil, military, and naval, of the United States; with the duties, compensation and place of employment of each officer . . . ," which appeared intermittently between 1820 and 1836; and the *Register of the Army and Navy of the U.S.,* published in 1830.

At about this time Peter Force seems to have encountered financial difficulties. In the issue of the *National Intelligencer* for June 28, 1830, the District of Columbia Marshal advertised that pursuant to a court order on behalf of John McClelland he would sell for cash on July 6 at 5 o'clock certain articles of furniture and "a library consisting of Rees' Encyclopaedia, Edinburg and Quarterly Reviews,[4] and a variety of other valuable books" seized as the goods and chattels of Peter Force. The original complaint was filed August 14, 1829, and the debt involved was $348 plus interest.

Similarly in the same issue of the *National Intelligencer* Marshal Ringgold advertised that he would sell on July 6 at 10 o'clock to satisfy debts owed by Force to George Bruce "three printing presses, one fount of Nonpareil, one fount large Brevier."

Neither sale apparently took place, since there are no records to be found in the court dockets. Mr. Bruce, very probably the George Bruce who introduced into this country the secret of stereotyping and later established a foundry on Chambers Street, in New York City, earlier had filed three separate writs during

[3] *The National Journal* ceased publication on January 23, 1832. Force, however, relinquished his control February 4, 1830, when George Watterston became publisher with Philip R. Fendall as editor. This partnership lasted until June 18, 1830. The *Journal* subsequently changed hands several times before it died of "poor circulation."

[4] The Library of Congress copies of these titles do not bear any indication that they were a part of the Force Collection.

December, 1828, to recover debts totaling more than $700 owed him by Force. An endorsement dated November 21, 1837, in the Docket for 1828 indicates that Bruce's several claims were later satisfied. There is, however, no indication that Mr. McClelland was paid except for an undated pencil statement on the court order reading "countermanded." This court order, however, is the first public indication that Force had collected a library of some distinction.

Force seems not to have been unduly upset by his creditors, and since he had sold *The National Journal* the previous November to George Watterston for $6,000, he should not have been financially embarrassed. But he was undoubtedly busy with other things, for just about this time in his career he was to embark on an undertaking for which he is best known to posterity. This undertaking resulted in the monumental series called the *American Archives*. Peter Force in association with Matthew St. Clair Clarke successfully persuaded Congress to authorize them to publish a work entitled "The Documentary History of the American Revolution." Although the Act was not signed until March 2, 1833, the groundwork was laid much earlier. In fact the project must have been well developed by mid-summer of 1831, for on July 18 of that year the two gentlemen wrote to Edward Livingston outlining the proposal for the documentary history. In this letter reference is made to the fact that Mr. Force "has long since turned his attention to the subject," and an appended list of books and papers illustrate that Force and Clarke took "much pains in procuring this valuable material."[5] The support of John Quincy Adams in the undertaking was solicited and secured, as evidenced by a letter which Adams wrote to Clarke from which the following extract has been taken:

[5] *Report made to the Hon. John Forsyth, Secretary of State of the U.S. on the subject of the Documentary History of the U.S. now publishing under an Act of Congress, by M. St. Clair Clarke, and Peter Force* (Washington, 1834), p. 8.

Quincy, 17th August, 1831.

Dear Sir: **** I should hope that octavo is the form upon which you will fix, with Mr. Force, for the collection of what once were called the prior documents, and for those contained in the Remembrancer, with others of the same character, down to the adoption of the constitution of the United States. The men of the present age are under a sacred obligation, both to that which has past, and that which is to come, to preserve the recorded virtues of their forefathers for the instruction and emulation of their posterity; nor shall they be unremembered who assume upon themselves to perform this duty for their contemporaries. Receive, with Mr. Force, my thanks for engaging in the enterprise, and my best wishes that you may both live to witness its accomplishment, and to be duly rewarded for it.

With much respect, I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. Q. ADAMS.[6]

The memorial to Congress prepared by Clarke and Force was received December 29, 1831. Clarke, who was at that time clerk of the House of Representatives, was clever in the ways of politics and apparently lobbied successfully, for the act of authorization was passed fifteen months later.

After Congress had granted its *imprimatur* to the undertaking, Force and Clarke reported regularly to the Secretary of State. In the first report dated 1834 which they jointly made to John Forsyth on the subject of their Documentary History, the illuminating statement is made that the plan of the work was originally fixed upon about twelve years ago or in 1822. The report states further that the project "began by the purchase and critical examination of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and early periodical publications . . ." and that "Of these a large and very valuable collection has been made."[7] During the period 1829-1834, except for a short period of each year concerned with the publication of *The National Calendar*, Force apparently devoted himself exclusively to the undertaking. This absorption in his chosen pursuit which involved considerable traveling might well ex-

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

plain the annoyance of his patient creditors who were cited earlier.

The association between Clarke and Force was dissolved in 1843 when Mr. John C. Rives bought out Clarke's interest.[8] Clarke's rôle in assembling material for the Documentary History seems to have been negligible, as is indicated by the text of a letter which Force wrote to Thomas J. Campbell in 1848.

> I first proposed the American Archives, and drew up the plan for the work, in 1822. Since January 1830, my time has been almost wholly occupied in collecting materials for it, and preparing them for the press. The work is the result of my own labour, and the copyright belongs to myself alone.[9]

The project itself, which was becoming increasingly expensive, was terminated in 1855. By that time nine volumes of the original series as contemplated, now called *American Archives*, had appeared. Covering the years 1774-1776, these volumes constitute an invaluable compilation of source material relating to the American Revolution.

At the unexpected termination of the undertaking Force found himself, in spite of rather serious financial straits, the proud possessor of a very considerable library which he had assembled during the preceding thirty years. His avid and persistent efforts in forming a library essential to the Documentary History revealed him to be the greatest book collector that this country had yet seen. Early in its formation Force came in touch with all of the antiquarian dealers in the United States. His friendship with the two Henry Stevens' proved of great value in building his collection. In one especially entertaining letter which the elder Stevens wrote to Force on Christmas Day in 1851, the Vermont character is evident: "I have been thinking about going to Washington this winter. But how to manage to get there, as yet I have not determined. If I could sell you a few hundred dollars worth of old manuscripts, from four to six hun-

[8] For details of the transaction, *cf.* Library of Congress, Force Mss, 80201.

[9] August 19, 1848, Force Mss, 81135.

dred vol of newspapers, a few hundred of pamphlets for a reasonable reward over and above expences I might be induced to make you one more visit. Come give me what may be termed solid comfort. I will pack up and clear for Washington. . . ."[10] In another letter Stevens expressed his obligation for the kindness which Force displayed toward his sons.[11] Force was in especially close correspondence with Simon Stevens, who operated a bookstore at Lancaster, Pa., and Henry, Jr., later known as Henry Stevens of Vermont.

The younger Henry Stevens at one time was employed by Force, and in spite of occasional minor misunderstandings Stevens well served his former employer in adding to his collection. The extensive correspondence of more than 100 letters from Stevens to his mentor is available in the Force Papers in the Library of Congress. It commences at the time Force hired young Stevens as copyist while he was an undergraduate at Yale, and ends in 1854 with Stevens established in London as a most successful young bookseller.

It is of more than passing interest to point out that at the beginning of August in 1845, shortly after young Stevens arrived in London, he assured Peter Force that he had first claim to any important titles of American interest which Stevens acquired.[12] That letter simply prepared the way, for later on the same day, August 4, he offered jointly to Peter Force and John Carter Brown an extraordinary group of Columbus letters and other early significant Americana at the total price of £725, with the understanding that Force would have first choice.[13] This long letter is so filled with "nuggets" that one cannot refrain from quoting at least a portion of it.

. . . Thus my dear Sir, in the short space of two months I have got together nearly all the *gems* for the ornament of an American Library: And such a col-

[10] Force Mss, 81588.

[11] December 27, 1844, Force Mss, 80603.

[12] Force Mss, 80701.

[13] Force Mss, 80704.

lection in *point of rarity*, I am confident in asserting exists no *where else in the world*. . . . Indeed as my collection is the result of the indefatigable labors of Mr. Ternaux, Mr. Rich & Col. Aspenwall for near thirty years past, it contains many books which you will probably never again see in the book markets. Both your dogs, Texas & Booby, I will venture to say, will have been a long time dead ere you will meet with the four different editions of [the] Columbus letter – the first editions of the four works of Peter Martyr 1516, 1511, 153[3] — The first editions of Cortes 1523, 1524, 1525 — Leyes de Indias 1543 — The first edition of the works of Las Casas 1552 – Puga 1563 – Challeux 1566 – Hakluyt 1582 – Basanier's Florida 1586 – Stellae 1590 – Encinas 1596 – Brereton 1602 – Balbuena 1604 – Monts 1605 – Smith 1608 – Nova Britannia 1609 – Hudson 1613 – Hamor 1615 – Smith's N. E. 1616 – Mourt 1622 – Alexander 1624 – Levett 1628 – Aguiar 1628 – Sagard 1632 – Lord Baltimore 1634 – Wood 1634 – Morton 1637 – Complete collection of the Jesuites' Relations de la Nouvelle France, above 30 volumes 1635 – 1672 – Ward 1647 – Otto Keyens 1672 – Palafox 1650 – L'Estrange 1652 – Clarke 1652. Bishops 1661-67 – Boucher 1664 – Alsop 1666 – Morton 1669 – Denton 1670 – New Englands tears etc. 1676 – Tauste 1680 – Leyes de Indias 1681 – Marquet 1681 – Calef 1700 – Account of several passages etc 1693 – Nicholls Hour Glass 1608 – Cobbett 1653 – Williams Key 1643 – Gorton's Saltmarsh 1655 – Winslows Narrative etc 1649 – etc etc etc.

Now, Sir, I desire to sell this collection all together, and care not whether it goes to you or to Mr. Brown, or to both of you. I must have not only what I paid for it, but a sufficient percentage to indemnify me for my time, expense and trouble. The whole collection must therefore net me Seven Hundred and Twenty-five pounds (£725). . . .

Mr. Brown promptly agreed to Stevens' proposal, but Force failed to exercise his advantage and thereby missed an extraordinary opportunity. Stevens subsequently sold his old friend some unusually fine things, but it is apparent that young Stevens had secured several customers rather more affluent than Mr. Force.

Peter Force was a friend and constant correspondent of John Russell Bartlett, eminent bookseller, bibliographer, and at one time corresponding secretary of the New-York Historical Society. Others in the book trade with whom Force frequently corresponded include Hilliard Gray & Co., Samuel Drake of Boston, Joel Munsell of Albany, Joseph Sabin, and George Putnam. American historians knew the value of the Force Library and either by personal visit or through correspondence consulted

it on numerous occasions. Buckingham Smith had an especial friendship for Force, but all of the important historians and antiquarians of the period—Lossing, Sparks, Bancroft, and Schoolcraft—were intimates of Force. Collectors Henry C. Murphy, George Livermore, Lyman C. Draper, and E. B. O'Callaghan in particular, often corresponded about bibliographical matters.

Recognition of Force's position as a distinguished American historian was indicated by his election to honorary memberships in The Connecticut Historical Society, The American Antiquarian Society, The Mercantile Library Association of New York, The New Jersey Historical Society, The New-York Historical Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen. At one time (1837) he served as Corresponding Secretary of The American Historical Society but later declined a higher office.

We imagine that Force arranged his collection chronologically, since a goodly number of the Force titles contain slips in his handwriting furnishing the date and the number given by Obadiah Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*. The first volume of this significant bibliography covering the eighteenth century appeared in 1835 and seems to have been Force's constant guide in building the collection. For the earlier period he used Rich's *A Catalogue of Books Relating Principally to America* (London, 1832), which covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His copies of these catalogues, extensively checked and annotated, still survive.

In forming the collection Force seems not to have been especially interested either in condition or in edition; he was interested primarily in the text, and not being a rich man he was acutely sensitive to extravagant prices. Those of his books which required binding were simply but serviceably bound. Among his more significant acquisitions were entire collections of pamphlets aggregating nearly a thousand bound volumes. These had been assembled by such individuals as Ebenezer Hazard of Phila-

delphia (1744-1817), one of the earliest collectors of source materials of American history; William Duane (1760-1835), at one time editor of *The Aurora*, an influential Philadelphia newspaper, and regarded as the most effective journalist of his time;[14] Jacob Bailey Moore (1797-1853), another outstanding journalist and a former librarian of the New-York Historical Society; Oliver Wolcott (1760-1833), the Secretary of the Treasury upon Hamilton's resignation and later Governor of Connecticut;[15] Israel Thorndike (1755-1832) of Beverly, Massachusetts, merchant, legislator and donor of a valuable collection of Americana to Harvard College; and finally John Bailey (1786-1835), another Massachusetts collector. Force recognized the value of these collections formed by Americans interested in the foundation and formative years of the New Republic, and it remains to his everlasting credit that he did not permit them to be dispersed. From Mr. Spofford's report to Congress we learn that the Force Collection at the time of its transfer contained between 35,000 and 40,000 pamphlets, of which 8,000 were printed prior to 1800.

As a historian Force also recognized the value of the newspaper and the periodical. He assembled 245 bound volumes of newspapers printed before 1800 and 700 volumes of journals printed during the nineteenth century. Without the Force Collection it is doubtful that Mr. Brigham in the introduction to his splendid bibliography of American newspapers would have been able to write: "The Library of Congress, with unquestionably the largest existing collection of American newspapers, if one takes into account the papers of the last seventy-five years, has been actively acquiring newspapers for half a century past, and next to the Antiquarian Society, is stronger than any other library even in the early period."

The spirit of the true collector manifested itself in Force's de-

[14] Duane's library was sold at auction in Philadelphia, March 23, 1836.

[15] Wolcott's library was sold at auction in New York, April 18, 1844.

sire to make more readily available the rarer source materials of early colonial history, much of which he successfully acquired for his library. This motivation led him to publish privately his well-known series, *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776*. In the modest advertisement to the first volume published in 1836, he states the reasons which produced the publication.

> The Compiler . . . having been led by circumstances into an examination somewhat extensive, of the sources of our history, experienced much difficulty in procuring the Pamphlets and smaller Tracts that relate to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the American Colonies. Of the vast number of publications of this description that were made during the two centuries and a half succeeding the discovery of America, a few only can be found in this country, and these are almost entirely confined to libraries connected with our public institutions: many of them are of great value as authentic historical records, and all are interesting to those who take pleasure in tracing step by step the progress of the Colonies, in population, wealth, and power, within the comparatively short period that intervened between the landing of the first white man upon the Continent, and the establishment of a free and independent Government by the People of the United States of America. These considerations suggested the plan of the Collection now commenced.

This exemplary series resulted in four volumes of reprints of pamphlets, extracts, and accounts available only in manuscript which Force selected as highly significant in the early development of our country.

It is not generally known that Force was one of the earliest American collectors of fifteenth-century books. His small collection numbering 161 titles was assembled to illustrate "the progress of the art of printing from its infancy," and surely in 1867 it must have been one of the best if not the outstanding collection in America. It still occupies an important part in the impressive collection of incunabula which the Library of Congress has formed.[16] Of very recent date the Library with 5,316 titles

[16] Twenty-two of the Force incunabula listed in a footnote on the next page suggest the high quality of the group of titles he assembled.

in its possession has assumed in number of copies the primary position among American collections.

The Force Library also embraced a large and impressive group of maps and atlases; 48 folio volumes of historical autographs; and 429 volumes of manuscripts, including two original Washington journals, one dated 1755 during Braddock's defeat; twelve folio volumes of the papers of John Paul Jones, constituting the best collection available on Jones' career during the Revolution; one volume of records of the Virginia Company; and an unpublished manuscript of Las Casas' *Historia de los Indios Occidentales.*

Mr. Force may have been financially embarrassed when his project for the Documentary History was summarily halted by Secretary of State Marcy, but in the library which Force had as-

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Clemens V, *Constitutiones.* Mainz: Schoeffer, 1467.

Bonaventura, *Meditationes.* Augsburg: Zainer [1468].

Augustinus, *De civitate dei.* Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470.

Chrysostomus, *Homiliae super Johannem.* Rome [Lauer] 1470 (Kloss copy).

Franciscus de Retza, *Comestorium vitiorum.* Nuremberg [Sensenschmidt] [1470] (Duke of Sussex copy).

Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta memorabilia.* [Venice] Vindelinus de Spira, 1471.

Bonaventura, *Breviloquium.* Nuremberg [Sensenschmidt] 1472 (Kloss copy).

Caracciolus, *Sermones quadragesimales.* [Venice] Vindelinus de Spira, 1472 (Kloss copy).

Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis.* Venice: Jenson, 1472 (Charles Barlow copy).

Strabo, *Geographia.* [Venice] Vindelinus de Spira, 1472 (Duke of Sussex copy).

Augustinus, *De consensu evangelistarum.* Lauingen, 1473.

Exhortatio de celebratione missae. [Esslingen: Fyner] [1473].

Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones de sanctis.* Cologne: Koelhoff, 1473.

Bartholomaeus de Sancto Concordio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae.* Cologne: Ther Hoernen, 1474 (Kloss copy).

Herodotus, *Historiae.* Rome: Pannartz, 1475.

Regiomontanus, *Calendarium* [Italian]. Venice: Maler, Ratdolt, Löslein, 1476.

Turrecremata, *Expositio super toto psalterio.* Mainz: Schoeffer, 1476 (Kloss copy).

Appianus, *Historia Romana.* Venice: Maler, Ratdolt, Löslein, 1477.

Mela, Pomponius, *Cosmographia.* Venice: Renner, 1478.

Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo, *Supplementum chronicarum.* Venice: Rizus, 1492/93.

Schedel, *Liber chronicarum.* Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493.

Carvajal, *Oratio ad Alexandrum VI.* [Rome: Plannck, 1493]. "One of the earliest books to contain a reference to America."

sembled to aid him in his research, he had a most precious asset indeed. Although a disappointed man he found solace in his books. An indication of his philosophical but bitter attitude is indicated by a reply he penned in April, 1861, to C. B. Norton of New York, who in view of the threatened invasion of Washington offered to store Force's library in New York. "I cannot accept it," Force replied, "but will abide by the result of the threatened attack whatever it may be. If destruction, so be it—and in the event of an invasion such will probably be the case. And what then? Some men may hereafter when the time for its preservation has gone by, regret the loss to the Country, while I will lose and be the sole loser of all that an accumulation of forty years has cost me."[17]

Although the collector withdrew into retirement, the reputation of his collection was well known. As early as October, 1859, George H. Moore, who succeeded his father, Jacob Bailey Moore, as Librarian of the New-York Historical Society, was corresponding with Force about the sale of his library. Private negotiations continued for nearly two years but ended with the outbreak of the Civil War. Four years later, in 1865, the New-York Historical Society reached an agreement with the aging collector, now in his seventy-fifth year, whereby he was willing to sell his collection to the Society on two conditions. The collection was to be kept intact and known as the "Force Library"; and the price to be paid was $100,000, of which Force himself would subscribe $10,000. The price was declared to be a fair one by both George Bancroft and Henry C. Murphy. Mr. Moore, the Society's librarian, endeavored to raise the money, but he was unsuccessful. In a letter to Force dated May 30, 1865, Moore wrote:

> I must not omit to tell you that we have succeeded in securing more than five acres of the Central Park, including the Arsenal Building, as the future loca-

[17] Quoted from the original in the William L. Clements Library.

tion of our new buildings, and all questions about real estate are thus forever answered.

This may explain why the Society was unable at that time to secure sufficient subscriptions for the Force library.[18]

At this stage in the development Ainsworth R. Spofford, appointed Librarian of Congress late in 1864, appears on the scene as an active contender for the collection. Mr. Spofford knew Peter Force and the library he had formed. When the negotiations in New York came to naught Spofford decided that the Library of Congress should have it. Although letters concerning the possible sale of Force's library were sent by A. W. Griswold,[19] by the Long Island Historical Society[20] and by John L. Sibley, Librarian of Harvard,[21] Mr. Spofford appears to have met the competition successfully. With customary thoroughness he and Force went over the collection in great detail. This resulted in the *Special Report* of the Librarian of Congress to the Joint Committee of the Library, dated January 25, 1867.

This report is a remarkable document, and it is rather a disservice to quote only extracts from it, but a selection nonetheless serves to emphasize the enthusiasm Mr. Spofford felt for his subject, and it is not difficult to understand why Congress felt convinced of the righteousness of his arguments.

"In the department of books relating to America" (Mr. Spofford reported),

> the library embraces the largest private collection ever brought together. . . . His library embraces an immense collection of early American voyages, in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, and English, while in books and pamphlets relating to the politics and government of the American colonies, it stands unrivalled in this country. In the field of early printed American books,

[18] Moore's letters concerning the negotiations available in the Force Mss are dated October 4, 1859 (82079); September 11, 1860 (82139); April 12, 1861 (82185); May 20, 1865 (82341); May 30, 1865 (82344). A draft of a letter written by Force to Moore is dated May 29, 1865 (82343).

[19] March 29, 1865, Force Mss, 82336.

[20] August 10, 1865, Force Mss, 82351.

[21] November 14, 1866, Force Mss, 82377.

so much sought for by collectors, and which are becoming annually more scarce and costly, this library possesses more than ten times the number to be found in the Library of Congress. Not to dwell upon particulars, it need only be mentioned that there is a perfect copy of Eliot's Indian Bible, the last copy of which offered at auction brought $800, and was last year resold at $1,000; forty-one different works of Increase and Cotton Mather, printed at Boston and Cambridge, from 1671 to 1735; a large number of still earlier books and pamphlets by Norton, Cotton, and other Puritan divines; and a very complete representation of the numerous and much sought for publications of the presses of Franklin and the Bradfords.

Mr. Spofford continued,

In the Laws and Journals of the early colonial Assemblies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, there are over two-hundred volumes, of the utmost interest as showing the legislative policy of the colonies in revolutionary times; and as but few of these have been reprinted in any of the modern collections, they are not in the Library of Congress. When it is remembered that the Congressional Library is for the use of our national legislature, and represents the nationality of the American people it is plainly of the utmost consequence to render it complete in all that can illustrate our history and progress as a nation.

Later in the detailed report Mr. Spofford furnished some additional interesting facts and figures:

As to the numerical extent of this library . . . the whole number of volumes, by actual enumeration, is 22,529, without reckoning the pamphlets as volumes. If the pamphlets are counted, (as is done in most libraries,) the number of volumes rises to about 60,000. There are not less than 45,000 separate titles in the collection. Out of these 7,850 volumes are duplicates, already in the Library of Congress. Taken as a whole, (and the library will not be divided) it is unquestionably true that so extensive a collection of the most rare and valuable books and manuscripts relating to America could not be assembled at so late a period as the present, even with unlimited means.

Mr. Spofford's report was accepted on January 26, 1867, and the Committee on the Library voted unanimously to recommend to Congress the purchase of the Force Library. Five weeks later, on March 2, Congress passed the act authorizing the expenditure of $100,000 for its acquisition. No time was lost in transporting the Force library to the Capitol. An entry in the diary

kept by William Q. Force, one of Peter Force's sons, informs us that on April 6, 1867, "the last load in moving Pa's library to the Capitol was taken today."[22] It is not hard to visualize the pleasure with which Mr. Spofford received it. A desk was provided for Mr. Force's use on the few occasions he visited the Capitol, but, of course, things were not the same, and a few months later, on January 23, 1868, Peter Force died.

Later that year many of the Force books, but none of the pamphlets, maps, or manuscripts, were included in the *Catalogue of Books added to the Library of Congress from December 1, 1866 to December 1, 1867*, which, admittedly incomplete, remains as the only published catalogue of the Force library.

Mr. Spofford furnishes a memorable picture of Mr. Force in the library of his home at Tenth and D Streets, Northwest,[23] which offers a fitting conclusion to this paper.

> . . . It was my good fortune in those closing years to see him daily, and in his company to go through all the more precious stores of his vast collection. At eight o'clock each morning I found him always immersed in work, collating or writing amid heaps of historical lore. . . .
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> No luxurious library appointments, no glazed bookcases of walnut or mahogany, no easy chairs inviting to soft repose or slumber were there; but only plain, rough pine shelves and pine tables, heaped and piled with books, pamphlets, and journals, which overflowed seven spacious rooms and littered the floors. Among them moved familiarly two or more cats and a favorite old dog, for the lonely scholar was fond of pets, as he always was of children. He had near bits of bread or broken meat or a saucer of milk to feed his favorites in the intervals of his work. Clad in a loose woolen wrapper or dressing-gown, the sage looked up from his books with a placid smile of greeting, for (like that of many men of leonine and somber aspect) his smile was of singular sweetness.

It is much more pleasant to recall this charming vignette of a great American collector in the familiar surroundings of his library than to leave him as a sad and dying man destitute of his library.

[22] McGirr, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[23] Spofford, *The Life and Labors of Peter Force*, p. 227.

Some Bibliographical Adventures in Americana*

By Clifton Waller Barrett

PERHAPS you may be wondering why an obscure individual such as I should be here today addressing the pundits and experts of the bibliographical world. If any of you may be racking your brains to remember some of the weighty and authoritative articles and books I have contributed to the literature of bibliography or some of the points or issues, burning or otherwise, that I have discovered, and in so doing forced from their pinnacles hitherto well-regarded folios, quartos and broadsides, let me set your minds at rest. The record is almost completely barren. My sole attempt at bookish literature has been a pamphlet entitled *Blueprint For a Basic Library*, which attained the impressive circulation of twenty-nine copies—including members of the family.

Now that I have dispelled any mysterious aura of scholarly achievement that might have floated about my name, some of you may still be seeking the reason for my presence. My own solution of this apparent enigma is that your president felt that it might be of interest to you practitioners of the sweet science of bibliography to see a specimen of the Collector, *Homo Americanus*, late, transfixed on a pin and wriggling before you. I think that he felt, too, that the papers we have enjoyed here for years past have been of so distinguished a character that a little dilution of this kind would not be a serious matter.

Now that I stand before you shorn of all distinction and revealed as one of the mere common bricks that go to make up the

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 20, 1950.

bibliographical castle, you may permit me to indulge in some introspection as to the characteristics that are to be found in the strange class of which I may be considered a representative member, if so strongly individualistic a group as collectors may be believed to have any traits in common. Nevertheless let me draw you a sort of composite picture of the true *genus Collector*.

First of all, he must be distinguished by his rapacity. If he does not covet and is not prepared to seize and fight for every binding, every issue and every state of every book that falls even remotely within the range of his particular bibliomania, treat him as the lawful fisherman treats a nine-inch bass; throw him back—he is only an insignificant and colorless offshoot of the true parent stock.

Then, he must have the proper attitude towards money. He must continually wonder what the booksellers buy half so precious as what they sell. Francis Taylor of the Metropolitan Museum said some years ago in an address at the Grolier Club that "the history of collecting is the history of money." This statement, I believe, is demonstrably true, and important periods of collecting must indeed be accompanied by an easy supply of money. Your real collector will have no difficulty in determining the proper uses for his available cash. After spending $5,000 for a coveted manuscript, he will be properly aghast at the demand of his wife for $100 to buy a new coat and overshoes for the children.

Again, he must be the type which will not permit his mundane pursuits to interfere with his true vocation. Any merchant who will not desert his biggest buyer, any lawyer who will not leave his best client, any doctor who will not incontinently flee from his best-paying neurotic old lady in quest of the perfect book is not worthy of the name of collector.

Now that I have made a rough sketch of the typical hoarder of rare books, perhaps you will be kind enough to allow me to tell you something about my own experiences in collecting.

In 1938 a book was published by Jacob Blanck entitled *Peter Parley to Penrod*. My collecting career of ten years has been just the opposite. I have gone from Tarkington to Tamerlane. The first edition I purchased, consciously at least, was Booth Tarkington's *Cherry*, in the bookshop of Thoms and Eron in the last days of 1939; and in 1949, I achieved the collector's Nirvana by acquiring a *Tamerlane* in the original wrappers from James F. Drake.

For a year or so after 1939, my collecting continued with the buying of first editions of the books I had read and liked, whether English or American or otherwise. But as time went on, I was introduced to American authors I had never heard of before. The courses in literature I had taken in school and college had been heavily weighted with the English writers, with perfunctory obeisances to the New England group, Edgar Allan Poe, Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving. They completely neglected such writers as Charles Brockden Brown, John Neal, William Gilmore Simms, Robert Montgomery Bird, John Pendleton Kennedy and James K. Paulding. As I gradually became acquainted with their works and lives, I became fired with the ambition to collect complete sets of their original editions so that this authentic American literature might be preserved for posterity. In time I learned that they had not been completely neglected, and I also discovered the great difficulty of securing complete runs of their books including the scarcest items and ephemeral publications.

Now that I had my feet wet in the limpid waters of American literature, the English and other books went by the board and those I had acquired departed from my shelves for other destinations. By degrees a plan unfolded of trying to put together a comprehensive collection of all worth-while American creative or imaginative literature from the beginning of the republic to the present day. This, of course, would include fiction, poetry, and essays of enduring merit or historical or regional significance.

History of high literary worth would be included, as well as juveniles and works of humor.

In formulating this plan, I was not unmindful of the collections that had been previously assembled. However, a survey going back to the Foote sale in the 1890's failed to reveal anyone which had really covered the entire field. Chamberlin, Maier, Bemis, Arnold, Howe and others had concentrated heavily on the New England authors. Not even Huntington or Clements had covered the whole canvas. Aldis and Foley in their pioneering work had stopped at 1895, and had overlooked many writers of great importance. Hogan and Braislin had been extremely selective. Although many of the tributaries of the main stream of American Literature had been well traversed, there seemed to be a connecting and unifying work to be done in order that American life as portrayed by the foremost American thinkers and writers, the creative artists of the pen, could be viewed in its entire development throughout the life of the republic, a period of approximately 175 years.

And so the long hunt commenced and has continued for ten years through bookshops, auction rooms and the parlors of private sellers. Dealers' and auction catalogues have been painstakingly perused, and orders have been placed from London to California. Fortunately, in the very beginning of this activity, I moved with my family into a larger house and was able to set aside two rooms for the assembling of these literary treasures. Although now quite inadequate in space, they met a pressing necessity in the early stages, as packages of books began to arrive with monotonous and—to my wife—irritating regularity. You can appreciate this when I tell you that in ten years the collection has grown to a total of about 10,000 pieces of printed material, manuscripts and letters, an average of about 20 per week. The important works of over 600 American authors are included. Every important author is represented by a virtually complete collection. With extremely few exceptions, the books

are all in the earliest state and binding. Wherever possible, author's presentation or association copies have been procured. Autograph letters referring to the books are present in considerable volume.

As have many others, I have devoted long thought to the question of who are the greatest American writers, and have come to the conclusion (subject to change, of course) that there are eleven who, through the years, have grown in critical appreciation and public favor, and have shown a quality of timelessness in their works which indicates permanent survival. I call them the Redwoods of American Literature because they continue to grow and flourish while the lesser trees and bushes die away and indeed form a sort of compost for their massive roots. These Redwoods are Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Fenimore Cooper, Emerson, Longfellow, Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thoreau, Mark Twain, Walt Whitman and Henry James.

With this belief in mind, it seemed quite essential to make an exhaustive collection of all of the books of these writers with as much of the ephemeral material, letters and manuscripts as might be available. This part of the task is substantially near accomplishment. The Washington Irving collection, for one, contains a unique set of *Salmagundi* in parts, all first issue in the original wrappers; a *Sketch Book* in parts and the only known presentation copy of Knickerbocker's *History of New York*. There are original manuscripts of the *Sketch Book*, *History of New York* and *Bracebridge Hall*, as well as a portion of *Salmagundi* and other lesser ones.

The Poe collection contains all the major works, including the *Tamerlane* previously referred to, a *Murders in the Rue Morgue* lacking (alas) the original wrappers, and a *Tales* of 1845 in wrappers, which in correct form is one of Poe's rarest books. There is a presentation of *Eureka* to Mrs. Osborne, a close friend of Poe and Mrs. Clemm. Perhaps the most interesting piece is

the only known letter from Poe to Washington Irving, proposing a new magazine, reading in part:

> The chief feature in the literary department will be that of the contributions from the most distinguished pens (of Americans) exclusively; or, if this plan cannot be wholly carried out, we propose, at least, to procure the aid of some five or six of the most distinguished, and to admit a few articles from other sources—none of which are not of a very high order of merit. We shall endeavor to engage the permanent services of yourself, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Paulding, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Longfellow, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Halleck, Mr. Willis, and, perhaps, one or two others. In fact, as before said, our ability to make these arrangements is a condition without which the magazine will not go into operation; and my immediate object in addressing you now, is to ascertain how far we may look to you for aid.

The similar letters which he wrote at this time to Paulding, Bryant and Willis are unlocated. The Cooper letter was mentioned in a sale at Libbie's, April 24, 1898. The Kennedy letter is in the Peabody Institute, the one to Longfellow at Craigie House, and that to Halleck in the Huntington Library.

The James Fenimore Cooper group contains an almost complete run of firsts in boards, uncut, wrappers or other original bindings together with many of the actual first printings in London, Paris and Dresden. There is a copy of *The Spy* presented by Cooper to his wife, *Precaution* in original leather and a fine *Last of the Mohicans* in boards, uncut. There are complete manuscripts of *The Two Admirals* and *Mercedes of Castile* as well as portions of *The Prairie*, *The Water-Witch*, *Afloat and Ashore*, and *Naval History of the United States*.

The Emerson collection embraces presentation copies of all of his books to members of his immediate family as well as to Lowell, Bronson Alcott and Charles Eliot Norton, together with various manuscripts of his poetry.

With regard to the Longfellow collection, I departed from a sort of unwritten rule and purchased the entire Carroll Wilson collection. My reason for doing this was the fact that the Wilson lot was to be sold only as a unit, which decision was undoubtedly

the proper one, and the realization that probably never again would I have the opportunity to secure a half-dozen of the privately printed pieces, some of which are in unique state.

My own collection of some sixty items contained—*mirabile dictu*—two pieces that were not present in this incomparable Wilson collection, which, incidentally, I believe (with the possible exception of Carroll's own Whittiers) is the greatest collection ever made of an American author. At this point, I pay tribute to the inspiration of that indefatigable bibliographer, literary historian and prince of good fellows, Carroll Atwood Wilson.

The great mystic Herman Melville is represented by a complete group of firsts, including both English and American editions, and a unique *White Jacket* in wrappers. It has six books in presentation state or of intimate association interest, and the last letter written by Melville in autograph.

Of all the great Americans, one of the greatest is Nathaniel Hawthorne. His masterpiece, *The Scarlet Letter*, is present in this collection in a pristine copy containing a contemporary autograph letter from Hawthorne to the Collector of Customs in Salem, and three documents signed by Hawthorne as surveyor at the very time he was writing the introductory part, *The Custom House*. In the copy of *The House of the Seven Gables* there is a letter from Hawthorne to his doctor, which reads in part: "I send a draft on my publishers, as above, and trust, in the course of the present year, to wipe off my pecuniary indebtedness to you —I have a new book nearly ready for the press. I am afraid it won't make such a stir in Salem as the former one; although the scene is laid there."

There are also nine presentation copies from Hawthorne to Longfellow, Franklin Pierce and others. A variety of letters refer to the books. One of the features of the collection is the comprehensive group of early magazines and gift annuals containing the earliest stories of Hawthorne.

Henry David Thoreau, whose light has been gaining in in-

tensity, is represented by the copy of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers,* presented to Tennyson, and of *Walden,* given to his mother. The collection also contains the original map drawn by Thoreau of the territory covered in the *Week* and his original compositions at Harvard on Chaucer, Shakespeare and Jonson, etc., as well as many letters.

The run of firsts written by Mark Twain includes presentation copies of *The Jumping Frog, Huckleberry Finn, The Prince and the Pauper* and *A Connecticut Yankee* presented to Charles Dudley Warner's niece. One of the most appealing items is *The Gilded Age* presented by Olivia Clemens to Mark Twain's mother, on Christmas 1873 (the book was published early in 1874), together with an original manuscript chapter of the book in Twain's autograph and one in the hand of his collaborator, Charles Dudley Warner. There is a gilt-edged *Tom Sawyer* and the large part of the original manuscript of *A Tramp Abroad.*

The collection of the good gray poet Walt Whitman includes a fine copy of his first publication, *Franklin Evans, the Inebriate,* in wrappers, a very rare book indeed. There are seven editions of *Leaves of Grass* including a first edition, first issue, which contains Emerson's letter, itself a great rarity. His later works are all present, inscribed, and in some cases presented to Louisa Whitman, E. C. Stedman, etc., as well as a long manuscript of factual autobiography sent to his publisher, David McKay.

An exhaustive gathering of the first editions, English and American, of the old master Henry James, is apt to exhaust the collector. Here we find nearly 200 volumes of which nineteen are presented to Edmund Gosse, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Evelyn Smalley and others. Numerous letters and a few manuscripts accompany the books.

Naturally, in addition to these so-called Redwoods, there are other important writers where the aim has been completeness. For example, the great Southern novelist, William Gilmore

Simms, whose pictures of frontier life and the Revolution rank with Cooper's. I have over 200 items.

The first professional American novelist, Charles Brockden Brown. When that fabulously rare book *Alcuin* came up at auction, I missed it and was saved from despair by David Randall, who was kind enough to turn it over to me.

Susanna Haswell Rowson, famous author of *Charlotte Temple*. The Frank Hogan sale gave me my opportunity to buy this one. There are about 60 items here, including the copies of her books owned by her husband and son.

The novelist-historian of early Virginia and the Civil War—John Esten Cooke. A few months ago, Michael Papantonio helped me complete this group with a copy of *The Virginia Bohemians*, the only one lacking of all his books.

The Apostle of the West—Bret Harte—250 items, including 12 manuscripts.

The pioneer realist Stephen Crane; numerous books, letters and the original manuscript of *The Red Badge of Courage*.

Writers of the New England school, other than those mentioned—Whittier, Lowell and Holmes—are represented by a copy of Whittier's *Moll Pitcher* with the original front wrapper; the original manuscript of *Lowell's Class Poem*, and privately printed lectures of Holmes, together with long runs of first editions.

Oscar Wegelin, Lillie Losche and Lyle Wright are pioneers in classifying and describing American fiction to 1850. With their work as a guide, I have tried to secure every piece of American fiction to the date mentioned. The collection presently contains over 1,000 titles, including, I believe, every one published by 1800. Aside from their importance in literary history, these books are tremendously appealing. They form a great variety of intriguing imprints, in every conceivable style of binding—leather, wrappers, boards, cloth and some that are merely stitched.

They are written in every style from the epistolary to the early forms of realism. Didactic, sentimental, high-blown description or simple narrative, they treat of seductions, Gothic castles, the Revolutionary War and the frontier. It is amazing how many of them offer absorbing reading to this day. Two of the earliest examples, *Charlotte Temple* and *The Coquette*, tell their simple stories of betrayal in a manner calculated to wring tears from a basilisk.

Although I have spoken for the most part of books of the 1800's, the literature of the present century has not been neglected. Dreiser, O. Henry, Ellen Glasgow, Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, Kenneth Roberts, Steinbeck and others, are present in full measure. If I had to pick out the one writer of the twentieth century most certain of immortality the choice would be impossible, as I could never make up my mind between Willa Cather and Robert Frost. To play it safe, I have gathered together all of their firsts of which, I believe, nearly all are in very interesting presentation state.

Mentioning Robert Frost reminds me that my remarks have been principally directed to prose works. This does not mean that poetry has been unduly overlooked. In addition to the works of the well-known poets previously secured, the location of all first editions of American poetry to 1850 is now in progress, and many items have been acquired.

American humor might be the subject of a new bibliography. There is an excellent chapter on this subject in Spiller's recently published *Literary History of the United States* (New York, The Macmillan Co.). The collection contains numerous books in this category.

The aforementioned *Peter Parley to Penrod* is an indispensable tool for the collector of juveniles, and many of these titles have been procured in addition to earlier examples before 1827 and other later ones.

In general the guiding principle has been to amass the basic

and background materials which might be used by the historian, literary or otherwise, or the writer of fiction or poetry concerned with American life, character, history and customs. Any collateral material relating to the inspiration, the method and the purpose of the various books has been eagerly sought after.

At this point, I should like to emphasize that this collection has been in no sense of the word assembled by my unaided efforts. In fact, I have been to a great degree only the gathering point, the receptacle, for this rain of great American original editions. The brains and the bibliographical knowledge of many others have been utilized in fullest measure.

I remember with the keenest pleasure the many fine source books of literary history and bibliography which fired me with the original enthusiasm and desire to make the attempt; the old ones by Tyler, Allibone, Duyckinck and Stedman, and even the Poe-hating Griswold. Then came the pioneering bibliographies of Stone, Foley and Wegelin, later on Merle Johnson and Lyle Wright. One of the great studies of the subject is Arthur Hobson Quinn's *American Fiction, an Historical and Critical Survey.* This has been for me a constant source of guidance and information. *The Flowering of New England,* by Van Wyck Brooks, together with his later studies are rich in suggestion and enjoyment for the collector. The insidious works of A. Edward Newton, John Winterich and John Carter are like sparks to the dry tinder in the mind of the budding bibliophile.

In truth, one of the important dividends of an activity of this kind is the fact that one encounters many personalities of a different type with different ideas and aspirations. I can solemnly say that I would not give up the friends I have made among bookmen for a mint copy of *The Bay Psalm Book.* Can one go further? Seriously, my many friendships in this Society, the Grolier Club, in the libraries and universities, and among booksellers are most prized possessions. May this collection never find its way to the auction room.

My early steps in the game were guided by the genial Charles Vanover of Thoms and Eron. Among the co-architects of this edifice of books, I must own a tremendous debt to David Randall, John Kohn and Michael Papantonio, not to mention Howard Mott. If there is anything these four don't know about American firsts, I would despair of finding out. I am grateful to Marston and James Drake and to John Fleming for some of my prize pieces. I sit at the feet of Jacob Blanck and wonder at his encyclopaedic knowledge and its instant accessibility. And George Goodspeed, pre-eminent in New England.

And to speak of librarians, could there be three more different people in the world than Frederick B. Adams, Jr., James Babb and William A. Jackson? Yet are they not all shining examples of the knowledgeable, inspiring, conscientious and sympathetic bookman?

But let me check myself before I become quite maudlin either about books or persons. Let me thank you for your patience in listening to this catalogue and these opinions, and in conclusion may I say that the game is wonderful and the players even more so.

Bibliotheca Thordarsoniana: The Sequel

By Ralph Hagedorn

JUST twenty years ago the library of Chester H. Thordarson was described in the Papers.[1] It was very appropriate that Dr. Bay should have written this article, for he was director of this country's foremost scientific and technological library, and knew Mr. Thordarson and his collections well. Because of the reputation of this library, readers of the Papers will undoubtedly be interested in its fate, and will not object to a summary of its contents, although we shall not presume to attempt to say again what Dr. Bay has once said so well.

In the summer of 1946 the Thordarson Library was acquired for the University of Wisconsin by purchase. Through this happy acquisition the adumbrated desire of Mr. Thordarson to see his library at the University of Wisconsin was accomplished; and the strength of the University Library, already a ranking scientific library by reason of its extensive holdings of scientific journals, was greatly increased.

Mr. Thordarson collected books to demonstrate the development of British scientific thought and technological evolution. His interpretation of these terms was very liberal; and a good

[1] Jens Christian Bay, Papers, 23: 1-17 (1930); the same article is reprinted in Dr. Bay's *The Fortunes of Books* (Chicago, W. M. Hill, 1941); it appeared originally in Danish, *Bogvennen*, 1926: 120-138. Feature articles have appeared in midwestern newspapers from time to time, as well as in popular magazines, e.g., *American Magazine*, 102: 37, 183-190 (Dec., 1926). Tribute to the collection is also paid in the introductions to various bibliographies, such as Louis Charles Karpinski's *Bibliography of Mathematical Works Printed in America Through 1850* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940). The Bibliographical Society visited this library in the course of its December, 1928, meeting.

many books were added to his library for other personal reasons. The library falls roughly into six separate collections: (1) of individual books necessary to display man's conquest over nature and his progressive development; (2) of works of reference and working copies of rare books, such as the publications of the Early English Text Society and of the Hakluyt Society, the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, and similar collections; periodical publications, such as the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, *Archaeologia*, and *Novitates Zoologicae* of the Tring Museum, as well as many unusual gardening and floral journals; the British Museum's *Catalogue of Birds*, the *Catalogue* of its Library of Natural History, and similar catalogues; Reeve's *Conchologia Iconica*, Hooker's *Icones Plantarum*, Sowerby's *English Botany*, *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, and other equally important sets, for the most part soundly bound in three-quarter morocco; (3) of "color-plate books," a loose but convenient and descriptive category, in which most of the works are important scientific contributions, such as Audubon, Gould, Blackwell, and Jacquin; (4) of sets of standard authors in *de luxe* editions; (5) of books in Icelandic and Icelandica, a collection which Dr. Bay considered the third best in the country; (6) of Americana.

When a library of this stature is acquired by a larger library, the administrator faces a dilemma: should it be kept together as a "special collection" (*pace* R. G. Adams) or should it be broken up in order to meet more practically and more satisfactorily the demands made upon it in its new environment? This question can never be answered categorically; every library must be judged by its peculiar merits.

Since Mr. Thordarson collected books around a definite and specific theme, there would seem to be good reason for keeping the collection together; yet, to interpret this collection, to demonstrate the place of each book in the progress of mankind, would require a genius and breadth of vision equal to that of Mr. Thordarson or Dr. Bay, or a voluminous commentary. The

practical results would hardly justify this course. Although the library is remarkably complete for the period before the eighteenth century, it is of necessity limited to a few specific sciences after the eighteenth century, when the field of scientific research began its systematic and amoeba-like process of division and subdivision. The important reference sets, which are rarely found in private hands today, are indeed impressive; but they are obviously not all the works of reference needed to study any one science, especially at this time when the scientific fields are again beginning to overlap. The convenience of scholars must be taken into consideration: books must be placed where they can be consulted most readily, consonant with the safety of the book itself.

In view of these general considerations, and others of a purely local character, the decision was made to create a Rare Book Department, which would have as its nucleus those books from the Thordarson Library which are genuinely rare; those which require special care (such as the color-plate books); and the important editions of scientific books which, although often not notably scarce at present, should be preserved for future generations. Thus Mr. Thordarson's original plan will still be apparent although the magnitude of its execution will be lost to a certain extent.

In view of this decision the collections will be dealt with as follows: most works of reference will be placed where they can be most conveniently used, consonant with their safety, as will the ordinary *de luxe* editions of standard authors; the Icelandic books will be added to the library's general collections, except for a few early printed books and a few manuscripts, including Sir Joseph Banks's original correspondence relating to Iceland. Since the University Library and the Library of the State Historical Society work in close connection, no attempt will be made to compete with it. Such Americana as are not already found in their rich collections will be turned over to it in exchange for books in British and South American history and literature which

they have agreed to relinquish since they decided to restrict their collecting activities to America north of the Rio Grande.

The collection of Americana is composed largely of early American travel, such as Dr. Bay has described in his various "handfuls of Western books," and accounts of scientific expeditions. Some of the latter will remain with the collection. Many books generally regarded as Americana should more strictly be classified under some other heading, and such will be kept with the collection: Monardes' *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde*, 1577, 1580, 1596, Peter Martyr's *History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, 1577, Hakluyt, both 1589 and 1599-1600, Boemus's *Manners, Lawes and Customes of all Nations*, 1611, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, and *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 1626, Rochefort, *History of the Caribby-Islands*, 1666, Josselyn, *New-Englands Rarities*, 1672, and his *Account of Two Voyages to New-England*, 1674, and even John White's *First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests*, 1643, which is considered the cornerstone of any collection of Washingtoniana,[2] are of no little importance to other studies, although it is as Americana that they are more frequently treasured. On the other hand, Hubbard's *Present State of New-England* (London, 1677) and Hennepin's *New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (London, 1698) are "pure" Americana.

The volumes which will be kept in the Rare Book Department form the essence of the Thordarson Library. They can be considered, scientifically, historically and bibliographically, as forming two collections divided by the eighteenth century.

Beginning with the eighteenth century the most striking group

[2] The pertinent passage relates to the great-great-grandfather of George, p. 4: "The Benefice of Lawrence Washington . . . is sequestred, for that he is a common frequenter of Ale-houses, not only himselfe sitting daily tipling there, but also incouraging others in that beastly vice, and hath been oft drunke, and hath said, That the Parliament have more Papists belonging to them in their Armies, then the King had about him or in his Army, and that the Parliaments Army did more hurt than the Cavaleeres, and that they did none at all; And hath published them to be Traitours, that lend to or assist the Parliament."

of books is that containing hand-colored plates. From Jacquin[3] and Elizabeth Blackwell[4] through Ackermann's many publications, and Audubon in elephant folio, to recent issues of *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*[5] and Princess Bibesco's *Flowers* (Paris, 1945), the array of color-plate books is indeed amazing. Included are such rare sets as Sibthorp's *Flora Graeca,* of which only twenty copies were completed, and the first issue of Lambert's *Description of the Genus Pinus* (3 volumes, 1803, 1824, 1837) of which twenty-five copies were completed.[6] Gould's many volumes on the birds of the different parts of the world are here in their entirety, the set formerly belonging to Matthews, whose *Birds of Australia* is present in a very fine copy, as are the various ornithological volumes of Elliot. There is a copy of each edition of Curtis' *Flora Londinensis* (1777, 1798; 1835). *Flora Brasiliensis* is the reprint edition.

One can turn with pleasure from these ponderous tomes to Shoberl's delightful *World in Miniature,* issued by Ackermann, a fine set of the *Comic Almanack,* and similar volumes by Cruikshank and his peers. Even among the smaller volumes the scientific range is as wide as the world, from *Flora Danica* to Wight's *Illustrations of Indian Botany* (Madras, 1840-1850) and Wallich's *Plantae Asiaticae Rariores* (London, 1830-1832); and as restricted as a single flower, such as the *Victoria Regia* (London, 1851),

[3] There are 9 titles, 23 volumes, including the scarce *Selectarum Stirpium Americanarum Historia* (Vienna, *ca.* 1780) of which fewer than 20 copies were completed. Two of the titles are not in the Arnold Arboretum *Catalogue,* all are in the British Museum (Natural History) *Catalogue.*

[4] This truly *Curious Herbal* (London, 1739, 2 v.) contains more than 500 plates, each painted, engraved, and colored by Elizabeth herself, to release her husband from debtor's gaol. She succeeded, but the scoundrel ended his life at the end of a rope on other charges. There is also a copy of the 1750-1773, Norimbergae edition in six volumes.

[5] Our scattered file has been very satisfactorily replaced by the acquisition of the two complete files in this collection.

[6] From the library of Henry Arthur Johnstone, bound in a manner worthy of so sumptuous a work: full green morocco with his shield and groups of pine cones stamped in gold, with pig-skin doublures and end papers impressed with his *ex libris.*

drawn and colored by Walter Fitch and described by Sir W. J. Hooker, which is said to be the last book Mr. Thordarson asked to see before he died.

The writings of the more important scientists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are represented in first editions. Electricity, Mr. Thordarson's field of vocational activity, is fully represented, as is agriculture through the eighteenth century.

The five centuries preceding the eighteenth are, next to the Graeco-Roman era, the most interesting in the history of mankind. St. Augustine[7] marks the effective beginning of this epoch. His convenient summary of the Neo-Platonic doctrine which controlled the thought of the world for a thousand years is, "Go not out of doors; return into thyself; in the inner man dwells Truth." This purely speculative approach to the solution of the mysteries of life was attacked and lacerated in the course of ensuing centuries, most successfully by the strangely changed Aristotle which the Arabs introduced to the western world to produce scholasticism; it was brought to its knees by the work of such individual men as Copernicus and Bruno, Galileo, Boyle, Harvey and Descartes, Borelli, Malpighi, Hook and Grew; it was dealt the *coup-de-grâce* by the new thought engraved on the crest of the Royal Society, "Nullus in verbo" and a short time later by Newton's famous "Hypotheses non fingo."

Mr. Thordarson's ambition was not to acquire a collection which would be merely representative of this dramatic development, such as the writings of the men mentioned above, and perhaps a score more. His aim was both more restricted and more ambitious. He restricted himself to the printed book, principally the English language and the British Isles; but he included in his interpretation of this development practically all aspects of man's activity in order to give a complete picture. An important rôle is that played by error, by speculators whose speculations

[7] Represented in this collection only by minor and supposititious works: *A Pretious Booke of Heavenlie Meditations, S. Augustines Manuel, S. Augustines Praiers,* all issued in 1600, bound in one volume, the Brand-Heber-Britwell copy.

came to naught, as did those of the alchemists and the seekers after perpetual motion, but who suggested new approaches to more capable men, or who stumbled on the truth in spite of themselves. The quacks and ignorant practitioners who roused the pity of competent men played their rôle, as did the hacks[8] who earned a scant living by translating foreign works of thoughtful accomplishment. The accounts of the everyday life of the common people, of their aspirations and hopes as depicted in literature, and of their solid accomplishments, are essential for this picture.

To attain this end it is not necessary to have a copy of every book in *STC* and *Wing*. Mr. Thordarson was able to realize his ambition by an inspired selection of some nine hundred volumes.[9] A brief survey of the books which fall in this period will convey in some measure the extent of Mr. Thordarson's achievement.

It is fitting that this collection should begin with the earliest English translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.[10] Few of the medieval writers can claim to exercise so potent a spell as he. Although he was accounted one of the original thinkers of his day, he remains within the limitations of his times in the present book, and his compendium is a compilation based on the records left by his predecessors. The book was the source of common information on natural history from the twelfth until the seventeenth century. The first version, in Latin, of course, appeared some twenty-six years before Glanville's English translation, and went through at least fourteen editions before 1500. French, Spanish and Dutch translations were also made.

[8] John Evelyn is the most outstanding, but not the only, exception.

[9] That everyone will find desirable titles not included in this collection is to be expected. Some have not appeared on the market; others have appeared at the wrong times. Yet there are a good many whose rarity is amazing, and some not included in *STC* and *Wing*. These are noted in the Appendix.

[10] *Ca.* 1495; 1535. *Batman uppon Bartholome*, which Shakespeare seems to have used, is unfortunately lacking.

In thyse .xix. bokes bey conteyned briefly the proprytees of thynges naturelles after the bookes and wrytynges of grete phylosophers, of excellent doctours of dyuynyte, and of notables auctours, and moost experte doctours in medycyn. Like as theyr sententes bey writen, wherto I have noo thinge added of my presumpcyon.

Many of the sciences find in one or the other of these "xix bokes" the origin of their modern development expressed in simple, readily understandable English; for if Bartholomew was great, he also had that simplicity which attends greatness. It was reflected in his writings, and his volume was the most popular work of reference of four centuries. Thereafter began the laborious separation of truth from fiction, together with deliberate or bigoted retention of the fiction to fool the public. Similar compendia found their way into print during the ensuing years, notably Polydore Vergil (1546, 1659, 1686). To include Agrippa's *Of the Vanity and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* (1569) would appear to be an instance of *lucus a non lucendo;* but his sarcastic criticism undoubtedly accomplished more than his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1651) and the *Fourth Book* (1655). We finally find David Abercromby writing his *Academia Scientiarum* (1687), in which he gives due credit to Boyle and his contemporaries, with the express hope that it will find its way into many a boudoir, whereby the ladies "may be furnished with such a variety of Knowledge, as may supply their not being bred in Universities."[11]

Mathematics, medicine and agriculture should be considered the basic sciences for the period under consideration. Several sciences depend greatly on mathematics for substantial progress; others depend to a great extent on the physical well-being of the scholar and satisfactory provision for the fundamental exigencies of life itself. Some sciences, such as botany, are in their early stages adjuvant to the utilitarian sciences of medicine and agriculture.

[11] Wing locates only one other copy in this country of this superficial but useful survey of seventeenth-century science.

The most important writer in the field of early mathematics in England is Robert Record, who practically founded an English school of mathematical writers. He was the first writer in English on arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, and the first to introduce algebra into England. The library has a copy of his *Pathway to Knowledge* (1551), and a late edition of his *Ground of the Artes* (1586). His nearest rival was Humphrey Baker, one of the most enthusiastic of mathematicians, who wrote, "Take away arithmetick, wherein differeth the shepparde from the sheepe, or the horse keeper from the Asse?" He is represented by *The Welspring of Sciences* (1564).[12] Other scarce books are *The Mathematical Jewel* (1585), by John Blagrave, whom Wood considered the flower of mathematicians of his age, and the *Workes* (1653) of Edmund Gunter, whose name is still associated with several scientific instruments.

Today we do things "according to Hoyle," but it is more appropriate here to leave our mathematicians "according to Cocker," an expression which has been longer in use. Edward Cocker's *Arithmetic* (1678) is the monument left by this littérateur, collector of manuscripts, calligrapher and mathematician. It went through more than a hundred editions.

Improvements in mathematics led to rapid development in other branches of science and invention. During the sixteenth century one of the problems which received great attention was raising water to heights by mechanical means. Sir Samuel Morland, represented in this collection by *A New and Most Useful Instrument for Addition and Substraction* (1672)[13] displaying a type of adding machine still in use, spent most of his time on water engines of various kinds, which led rapidly to the invention of the steam engine. He shares with Cyprian Lucar the honor of inventing the fire engine. An illustration of an early fire engine of a sort is in Lucar's *A Treatise named Lucarsolace* (1590). Naviga-

[12] See Appendix.

[13] The full title of *Wing* M2781; only one other copy is located.

tion[14] made great progress under the leadership of the advanced mathematics, as did dialing, a practical and fruitful pastime which required considerable skill and knowledge, and surveying, as important in its way from an economic point of view as navigation. The earlier books stress not only the mechanics of surveying but the legal and moral aspects of landholding: Richard Benese, *This Boke sheweth the Maner of Measurynge of all Maner of Lande* (Southwarke, 1537; the later editions in the collection omit the tables, and are of less consequence), Fitzherbert, *Surveyinge* (1567), Valentyne Leigh, *The moste profitable and commendable Science of Surveying of Landes* (1577), John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue* (1607), and W. Folkingham's *Feudigraphia* (1610), especially recommended for people going to Virginia.

Strictly speaking, agriculture did not exist as a true science until 1840, when Liebig brought together the results of his work and the disconnected efforts of his predecessors, and deduced the simple laws with which his name is associated. Yet this is an excellent demonstration of the truth of the assertions that sciences develop by empiric methods rather than by theory, and that in England practice always preceded theory. The interest taken in these generally small agricultural writings by nobleman and commoner alike is apparent from the number of editions most titles went through, and from the fact that although many of these books have been collected for a long time, chiefly as black letter books, very few are in existence now.

The earliest separate agricultural treatise in the collection is

[14] Many mathematical books, such as those of Blagrave and Oughtred, contain a section on navigation. The separate treatises are quite specialized and have been collected for a long time; they are scarce and command high prices. The notable titles in this collection are: *The Safegarde of Saylers, or the Great Rutter*, translated by Robert Norman (1590); Norman's *New Attractive* (1592); William Bourne, *A Booke called the Treasure for Traveilers* (1578); Thomas Blundeville, *His Exercises* (6th ed., 1622); William Welwood, *An Abridgement of all Sea-Lawes* (1636, first issued in 1612); and Edward Wright, *Certain Errors in Navigation Detected* (3rd ed., 1657), who discovered the principle of the projection for sea charts generally known as Mercator's Projection.

The Craft of Graffing and Planting of Trees (William Copland, 1565?). The only other recorded copy of this edition is in the Morgan Library; the British Museum has the only copy of the 1520? edition. Fitzherbert's *Booke of Husbandry* (1568) is a late edition, but all editions are very scarce. The series of agricultural books is indeed remarkable, including the more popular and prolific writers, such as Heresbachius, *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, in the 1577, 1578, 1586, 1601 and 1614 editions,[15] and the terrifically prolific Gervase Markham, who was induced by the alarmed stationers to sign a promise to produce no more books about "the Deseases or cures of any Cattle, as Horse, Oxe, Cowe, Sheepe, Swine and Goates &c"; as well as very scarce and uncommon books such as *The Orchard and Garden* (1596), possibly unique; Richard Gardiner, *The Profitable Instructions for the Manuring, Sowing and Planting of Kitchin Gardens* (1599);[16] *God Speede the Plough* (1601);[17] *The Fruiterers Secrets* by N. F. (1604), and a perfect copy of Sir Hugh Platt's *Floraes Paradise* (1608) with the original calf covers as doublures. Dr. Bay has pointed out the series of editions of Tusser extending from 1580 to 1931. The first three editions, 1573, 1574 and 1577, are lacking and are presumably unobtainable. Tusser was not contemptible as a poet, and has been too long neglected in literary history.

Other rural occupations are well represented by books on cattle and bees (Richard Remnant's *Discourse or Historie of Bees*, 1637, appears to be unusually scarce), and various books illustrating the rôle of the good housewife, which inaugurate impressive series of books on gardening and cooking, headed by Thomas Dawson's *The Good Housewifes Jewell* (1587), of which only three other copies are known: Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and Harvard.

[15] The last has the title *The Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry*.

[16] Fully described in *The Garden*, Dec. 22, 1923. Not in *STC*. The only other known copy was bought by Dr. Rosenbach at the Christie-Miller sale of March 31, 1925, and is now in The Huntington Library. There is also a copy of the 1603 edition in the library.

[17] The only other copy is in the Rothamsted Library.

These books are important not only for agricultural history, or for a study of progressive plagiarism which they could well illustrate, but also for the vivid picture of early English rural life that is delineated in their pages.

Herbals are not only of interest to the botanist, but of great practical value to both the good wife of the farmer and to the doctor. Before touching on the medical books in this collection, it will not be out of place to remind the reader at this point of the existence of the very good collection of English herbals, with some of their continental progenitors, *Ortus Sanitatis* [Argentinae, *ca.* 1507]; Fuchs, *De Historia Stirpium* (Basileae, 1542), truly a landmark in the history of natural knowledge; and their American counterparts, Monardes and Josselyn, mentioned above, and W. Hughes, *The American Physitian* (1672). These have been described by Dr. Bay in the article cited.

The field of medicine is in many respects the most interesting of the basic sciences in its historical development. As the physician strove to sever his connection with the barber, pharmacist, divine, herbalist and quack,[18] and establish an independent and pure science, two divergent kinds of literature resulted. The one is represented by such obvious forward strides as Vesalius (2nd ed., 1555),[19] and Harvey, *Anatomical Exercitations* (1653),[20] and William Cowper's *Anatomy of Humane Bodies* (1698); the other kind, more popular and voluminous, concerns itself with hygiene and home medicines: *School of Salerno* (1541, 1557, 1609[21]); *The*

[18] This thought is suggested by the distich on the title-page of Peter Forrest's *Arrraignment of Urines* (1623):

Fingunt se medicos omnes, Idiota, Sacerdos,
Iudaeus, Monachus, Histrio, Rasor, Anus.

Each dunce would dive in Physicks depth, both
parish Priest and Jew,
The Barber bold, Monke, Stage-player, and eke
the women crew.

[19] Neither the first edition (1543) nor the *Epitome* of the same year is in the collection.

[20] While not so famous as *De Motu Cordis*, this book is of almost equal importance. This copy has the excellent portrait of Harvey, engraved by Faithorne.

[21] Formerly owned by Thomas Park (*Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* 323) whose ms. notes it contains, and by Locker-Lampson.

Treasure of Pore Men (1547); the *Antidotharius* (*ca.* 1535); Thomas Moulton's *This is the Myrour or Glasse of Helth* (*ca.* 1540), two editions; Pope John 21's *Treasuri of Health* (*ca.* 1550); William Turner's *A New Boke of the Natures and Properties of all Wines* (1568); Gideon Harvey's *The Art of Curing Diseases by Expectation* (1689), a series of criticisms of medical practice; and Sir Edward Eyzat's *Apollo Mathematicus, or the Art of Curing Diseases by Mathematics* (1695), a satire on Pitcairn. These and many similar books, however much they clashed with the real progress of the time, and however unsuited they are for the present, are valuable not only for the history of medicine, but for offering clues to the origin of popular beliefs, old-fashioned cures still practiced, and even for the origin of popular sayings. This applies also to such serious works as Brunschwig's various works;[22] Hutten's *De Morbe Gallico* (1533) and *Of the Wood Called Guaiacum* (1539); Roesslin's *The Birth of Mankind* (1565), the first book on midwifery, "so playnely set foorth, that the simplest mydwyfe which can reade, may . . . understande."; and Timothy Bright's little-known *Treatise wherein is declared the Sufficiencie of English Medicines* (1580).

Indulging in sports has long been recognized as being conducive to good health and, from a practical point of view, providing food for the table or training good soldiers. Fishing is most strikingly represented by fine copies of the first five editions of *The Compleat Angler*, and many later editions, with one that is extra-illustrated. Markham's *Hungers Prevention, or the Whole Art of Fowling* (1655), had proved popular and practical since its publication in 1621. Ascham's *Toxophilus* (2nd ed., 1571) and Markham's *Art of Archerie* (1634) teach the effective use of what was still a very practical weapon. Stradanus' *Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium* (Antwerp, *ca.* 1580), a series of remarkably well-executed plates, illustrates the above writings

[22] *The Vertuose Boke of Distyllacyon* (1527), *The Noble Experyence of the Vertuous Handywarke of Surgeri* (1525), and *A Most Excellent and Perfecte Homish Apothecarye* (Collen, 1561).

satisfactorily, even for unicorns and dragons. Less wholesome but more popular sports are explained in Charles Cotton's *The Compleat Gamester* (1674), one of the best-known titles of that period.

The other sciences must be touched on but briefly, not because they are represented by books less important in their history in this collection, but because of the limitations of space and the fact that these sciences overlap greatly. Chemistry and alchemy, astronomy and astrology,[23] zoölogy and botany, mining and mineralogy, oneirology, palmistry, and other occult "sciences" are all represented. The importance of the lesser books must not be overlooked; they are indispensable for studying the popular beliefs or notions about natural phenomena, and help us understand what credulity existed. They show us with what concepts men like Newton, Boyle, and their predecessors had to contend. The state of natural science in this period cannot be imagined or inferred any more than present science can be understood without study.

There is one important branch of physics which should detain us for a moment because of Mr. Thordarson's interest in this field, namely, magnetism.

> Gilbert shall live till Loadstones cease to draw,
> Or British fleets the boundless oceans awe.

De Magnete can be honestly classified according to degrees of rarity. The first edition (London, 1600) is rare, although some seventy copies are recorded; the second edition, brought out by W. Lochman (Sedini, 1628) is very rare; and the 1629 issue of the second edition (Francofurti, apud Guilelmum Fitzerum,

[23] I cannot resist mentioning the following rarities: in astronomy, Robert Record's *Castle of Knowledge* (1556); Lancelot Colson's *Philosophia Maturata* (1668), the most important book on the philosopher's stone; and Boyle's *Of a Degradation of Gold made by an anti-elixir* (1678), a book not to Boyle's credit, but certainly a best seller. A mutilated copy in the British Museum and this copy seem to be all that have not been thumbed out of existence.

Anglum),[24] "not known to Thompson," is extremely rare. The Sedini, 1633 edition, calls for no adjective but "early." Nicolaus Cabaeus was one of the earliest commentators on Gilbert. Although his comments are not always to his credit, it remains a fairly important contribution. It appeared in 1629, imprinted Coloniae; this copy bears the rare Ferrara imprint.

Gilbert's most important predecessor was Petrus Peregrinus, who lived in the twelfth century. His *De Magnete* was first published in 1558, and Gilbert studied it carefully. One of the eighteen located copies is in this collection. It was plagiarized by Jean Taisnier, *Opusculum Perpetua Memoria dignissimum de Natura Magnetis* (Coloniae, 1562).

Gilbert's work was furthered by the important discoveries of navigators and instrument makers such as Robert Norman, whose *New Attractive* (1592) is in the collection. Gilbert's contemporaries, Mark Ridley and William Barlow, men of lesser stature only by comparison, are also represented. A curious and apparently scarce book is Basilius Plinius, *Carmen de Magnete* (Augustiae, 1603), which, in spite of its promising title, tells us more about the plight of Poland than the magnet.

Before summarizing the non-scientific books of the collection, it might be well to glance briefly at the fields of law, politics and commerce, which are closely related. There are several treatises such as John Manwood's *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* (1598), which touch on fields mentioned above. Pure law is represented by *Natura Brevium* (1534), *Magna Carta* (1529, 1541?, 1576), *Justice of the Peace* (1559), John Fortescue, *A Learned Commendation of the Politique Lawes of Englande* (1567), *A Booke of Presidents* (1569), and others. John Cowell's *The Interpreter* (1607) is a relatively common book which demonstrates the inefficiency of the hangman. The definitions in this dictionary

[24] Cf. *Library*, 4th series, 24: 142-164 (1943/44), for an account of Fitzer, the publisher of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*, by E. Weil. I assume that he refers to this copy of *De Magnete* on p. 153.

pleased neither King nor commons, and it was publicly burned. Yet there are two copies in this collection. It was issued again, unchanged, in 1637, and continued to be issued until well into the eighteenth century.

Except possibly for Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), treatises on theoretical politics are all but non-existent during this period. When the country prospered, all was well; when difficulties arose, changes were promptly made and better times were hoped for. Certain books in this general field gained great popularity, however. One was the utopian delineation of life, such as Samuel Hartlib's *Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), and Harrington's *Common-Wealth of Oceana* (1656). More's *Workes* (1557) is in the collection, but *Utopia* is, strangely, lacking. Some writers hoped to achieve salutary ends by writing on the education of princes, as Elyot, in his *Boke named the Governour* (1565) and his *Image of Governaunce* (1549) (neither is a first edition). Felippe's *The Counseller*, and Goslicki's book of the same title, were translated into English, the first in 1589, the other in 1598. These titles are of equal interest in the history of education. Sir Thomas Smith's *The Commonwealth of England* (1612, first published in 1583) is the most important description of the constitution and government of England written during the Tudor period. John Brydall's *Camera Regis* (1676) is one of the most interesting volumes describing the government, laws and history of London.

Commerce is represented almost equally by books describing the achievements of British effort and by suggestions for expansion. "Arnold's Chronicle" ([Antwerp, *ca.* 1503[25]]) is valuable chiefly for its preservation of commercial records. John Evelyn's *Navigation and Commerce, Their Original and Progress* (1674), the

[25] With "Sancti Albani" hand-stamped in colophon position. It is more valuable in the eyes of most people for containing the earliest printed version of *The Nut-Brown Maid*, which is printed, f. 75-77, surprisingly, but perhaps for good reason, between an account of tolls English merchants must pay at Antwerp and a table comparing Flemish and English currencies.

introduction to his abortive history of the Dutch War, is more of a "white book" directed against the Dutch than an accurate account of commerce. It was suppressed at the demand of the Dutch ambassador, but Charles II told Evelyn that "he must recall it formally, but gave order that what copies should be publiqly seiz'd to pacifie the Ambass^r, should immediately be restor'd to the Printer, and that neither he nor the vendor should be molested."[26] Specific suggestions are made in Robert Hitchcock's *A Pollitique Platt for the Honour of the Prince* (1580) in which the fishing industry is advocated, and in Andrew Yarranton's *England's Improvement by Sea and Land* (1677-1681). There are a score of other volumes relating to the abatement of usury, ways to get rich, support of the indigent, and control of the wealthy, all of which accomplished little at the time of their writing, but undoubtedly influenced the reforms which were achieved in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Few Englishmen practiced the art of writing history until the eighteenth century. If we accept Ascham's sensible division of historical writings into "Diaria, Annales, Commentarios and Justam Historiam," it is obvious that no truly "just history" of England was written until the days of Burnet and Clarendon. The reason will occur to every reader of Raleigh: " . . . who-soever in writing a moderne Historie, shall follow truth too neere the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth." Knolles could write his excellent *History of the Turks* (1603), which was admired for its style by Johnson and Byron; but William Thomas's *Historye of Italye* (1561) was, in its first edition of 1549 (not in the collection), suppressed and publicly burned. English history could not be written at all when modern applications were read into accounts of what happened generations before, and when reprisals were swift and, in a cruel age, gratifying to the prosecutor. However, the *diaria, annales* and *commentarii* were

[26] *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Bray, 1879, II: 302. Collectors have found this one of the commoner titles.

produced with considerable diligence by the chroniclers and travelers.

The extent of the chronicles, records of travel and geographical works contained in the collection is impressive: Froissart, second edition of the first volume (1545), first edition of the third and fourth books (1525); Higden's *Polycronycon* (1527) (he is considered by some to be the father of English prose); John Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543); Edward Halle's *The Union of the two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548); Carion, *The Thre Bokes of Cronicles* (1550); Cooper and Lanquet's *Chronicle* (1565); Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577); Whetstone's *The English Myrror* (1586), with its many curious details of the reign of Elizabeth; Stow's *Summarie* (1590), and his *Survay of London* (1599).

A few of the books of foreign interest are Curio's *Notable Historie of the Saracens* (1575), Scheffer's *History of Lapland* (1674), and Wallace's *Description of the Isles of Orkney* (Edinburgh, 1693). Gonzales de Mendoze, *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* (1588) contains a very early account of Mexico and other portions of the New World. Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Romae, 1555, Antverpiae, 1558) appealed to Mr. Thordarson both because of his interest in Scandinavian countries and Magnus's interest in natural history.

The more outstanding works of travel begin with Peter Martyr (1577) and include Marco Polo (1579; the Marquis of Lothian's copy); Lopes de Castanheda, *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias* (1582); Hakluyt, *Principle Navigations* (1589; Mexborough copy, and 1599-1600); Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604); Biddulph, *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa* (1609); *Coryats Crudities* (1611); Boothby's *Madagascar* (1646); and James Howell's *Instructions and Direc-*

tions for Forren Travell (1650), said to be the first handbook for travel on the continent.

The nearest approach to geography as an independent study is found in John Leo's *Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600) and *A Short Relation of the River Nile*, translated from the Portuguese by Sir Peter Wyche (1669). Nathaniel Carpenter's *Geography Delineated forth in two Bookes* (1625) is better known for its literary purple patches, as is Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612; a very fine copy, with the Prince Henry portrait in proof, and 1622). Snippets of geographical information can be gleaned from books like Pellham's *Gods Power and Providence Shewed in the Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance of Eight Englishmen left by Mischance in Green-Land* (1631).

Religion has always been a powerful factor in human life and conduct, and since the first days of printing, religious books have consumed a great share of the efforts of the press. Many sermons that were printed during this period were undoubtedly intended to be ephemeral, and many appeared surreptitiously; yet a surprising number have survived, as can be gathered from many a page in *STC*. Some are dreary reading today, but others sparkle with reflections of everyday life and should not be overlooked as sources of information regarding social mores and contemporary thinking. The frequency with which the pulpit was silenced or supervised is evidence of the tenor of many of the sermons.

Mr. Thordarson displayed great acumen in selecting books in this field, in which so many collectors have overburdened themselves. The greatest title is the Coverdale Bible of 1535, the first complete Bible in the English language (the Marquis of Lothian's copy); the Geneva version of 1602; a copy of the New Testament of 1550 (Moule 58); and such curious and popular books as the *True and Lyvely Historyke Purtreatures of the Woll Bible* (1553) (*STC* 3043 and 19184), and the *Images of the*

Old Testament (1549) (*STC* 3045), with illustrations by Holbein. The first Icelandic Bible (1584) is, of course, present.

It is surprising that there is no copy of the Authorized Version of 1611 in the collection.

Thereafter follow selected books of outstanding religious leaders, Calvin, Casaubon, Chrysostom, Richard Day, the compiler of "Queen Elizabeth's prayer book," Henry VIII, Luther, James I and Wither.

Of special interest, in view of the general theme of the collection, are the works of divines with a scientific or historical bent, such as those of John Wilkes, one of the founders of the Royal Society and its first secretary, close friend of Evelyn and Pepys; and of Sir Henry Wotton, the diplomat, scientific friend of Bacon and close friend of Izaak Walton; *The State of Christendom* (1657) is not the least important of his writings, and contains much readable information. The botanist William Turner's *New Booke of Spiritual Physik* (Rome[?], 1555), and his *Huntyng of the Romyshe Wolfe* (1554), show the beneficial effect of religious inquiry into temporal matters. St. German's *Doctor and Student* (1554?) was superseded only by Blackstone's *Commentaries*. A curious book is William Marshall's translation of Marsilius of Padua's *Defence of Peace* (1535): Marshall complained bitterly that it did not sell. This may account for its scarcity now.[27]

Philosophy during this period was international and universal, and Latin, the common language of learned men, was used. Since Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), dared to write about philosophy in English, he has been popularly considered the founder of English philosophy. He was actually preceded by many famous Englishmen. But for the years between Roger and Francis Bacon, William Baldwin's *A Treatise of Morall Philosophye* (1550; 1571) and Thomas Wilson's *The Rule of Reason* (1580) are undoubtedly representative. In spite of the

[27] Seven copies can be traced.

fact that Bacon introduced a philosophy of philosophy, as it were, his influence on the philosophical writing of the period following his death is slight. There were many translations of foreign works into English, as of Descartes, Boehme, and the various writers on Rosicrucianism, which are represented in the collection; but the greatest British names of this period are Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), *Philosophicall Rudiments Concerning Government and Society* (1651), and Locke's *Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (1690).

Books in the field of literature, as we understand the term today, are remarkably well represented when one considers that the library is primarily scientific in scope. As Dr. Bay pointed out, true progress is not limited to scientific development alone, but to the growth of the spirit of man as well. The following titles will suggest the extent of this part of the collection.

Our debt to the classics is acknowledged by the presence of first or early translations of Aristotle, Euclid, Horace, Lucan, Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch, Seneca, Tacitus, Xenophon, Virgil, and others. The English authors one would expect to find in the library of a good bibliophile are present to a great extent: Browne, *Religio Medici* (1642); Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621, and later editions), as well as Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy* (1613) and Thomas Walkington's *Optick Glasse of Humors* (*ca.* 1631), a late edition, both of which Burton had read with great profit; Chaucer, *Workes* (1532 and 1598); Daniel, Donne, Drayton, Fletcher's *Purple Island* (1633); Gower, *De Confessione Amantis* (1532); the first printed edition of *The Vision of Pierce Plowman* (1550); the *Mirour for Magistrates* (first part 1575, last part sixth edition, 1578, and the 1610 edition); Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1609); Shakespeare's *Poems* (1640); *All the Workes of John Taylor, the Water Poet* (1630); and *Albion's England*, by William Warner (1586), are here in notable copies.

From the more unusual titles in this field we might select Ariosto's *Seven Planets Governing Italie* (1611); Boccaccio's *A*

treatise excellent and Compendious, shewing . . . the Falles of sondry most Notable Princes (1554); Brant's *Ship of Fooles* (1570); Chapman's *Eastward Hoe* (third edition, 1605) and his *Ovid's Banquet of Sence* (1639); *The Closet of Counsels* (1573), by Edmund Elviden, whose three books are extremely rare; Fraunce's *The Lawyers Logike* (1588); E. Fenton's *Certain Secret Wonders of Nature* (1569); Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* (1567), a very popular miscellany in its day; Palingenius, *The Firste Sixe Bokes* (1561) and *The Zodiake of Life* (1565); Paulet's *The Lord Marques Idlenes* (1586) with its remarkable dedicatory acrostic of six Latin verses, forming the words "Regina nostra Angliae"; Webster, *The Devil's Law-Case* (1623), and thirty different works by George Wither, of whom Mr. Thordarson was especially fond.

The appurtenances to literature are represented adequately by such titles as *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) by Puttenham; John Bulwer's *Chirologia* and *Chironomia* (1644); and Le Sylvain's *Orator Handling a hundred severall Discourses* (1596), which contains the story of Shakespeare's Shylock. Erasmus's *Apophthegmes* (1564) and his *Flores* and *Proverbes* (1550) are quite rare; for the last *STC* gives no location. Richard Taverner, who was responsible for the selections from Erasmus, is also represented by *The Garden of Wysdome* (*ca.* 1550). The only copy of John Hawkins's *The English School-master Compleated* (1692) which Wing found is in the British Museum. Winstanley's *Lives of the most famous English Poets* (1687) can still be used with profit, and Sir Thomas Wilson's *The Art of Rhetorique* (1585) is not without interest.

Of the rest of the books in the collection, one might say that they relate to life, or living, in general. The range is from books on formal education, such as Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570 and 1589) to books on informal education, frequently called books of courtesy, such as Lloyd's *The Pilgrimage of Princes Penned out of sundry Greek and Latine Authors* (1573), Guazzo's *Civile Conversa-*

tion (1586), Castiglione, *The Courtier* (1603), and Brathwait's treatises on English gentlemen and gentlewomen. Books of heraldry extend from Gerard Legh's *Accedence of Armory* (1562) and four later editions, to Matthew Carter's *Honor Redivivus* (1673) in this period. Other works range from Petrarch's *Phisicke against Fortune* (1579), and Coignet's *Politique Discourses upon Trueth and Lying* (1586) through James I's "Proclamation for Building with Brick,"[28] to Moses Pitt's *The Cry of the Oppressed* (1691), an appeal for the abolition or at least improvement of jails. There are many books on brewing, and at least one on *The Great Evil of Health-Drinking* (1684). There is a good collection of almanacs, chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of which are not recorded in *STC* (for 1638) and *Wing* (for 1653, 1663, 1676). Books on architecture, handwriting, cryptography, music, painting, are also to be found.

In short, Mr. Thordarson unquestionably achieved what he set out to do: a large portion of the panorama of British civilization has been spread before us, rich in detail, containing few blurs. It is indeed a remarkable collection for an individual limited by time and space to achieve and absorb. But there is no end to a panorama of this kind; and an institution must pay due thanks to the original collector, and attempt to continue his work.

APPENDIX

Short-Title Catalogue[29]

The only book not in *STC* is *God Speede the Plough*. 4°. J. Harison, 1601. There is a copy in the Rothamsted Library.

Editions not listed in *STC* are:

ANTIDOTARIUS. *The antidotharius, in the whiche thou mayst lerne howe thou shalte make many and dyvers noble plasters*. 8°. R. Wyer, n.d. (*ca.* 1540). This copy agrees with none listed in *STC*.

[28] *STC* 8420.

[29] Mr. William A. Jackson has kindly supplied the locations of other copies given here and in the text.

BAKER, HUMPHREY. *The welspring of sciences . . . Now newely printed and corrected.* 8°. H. Denham f. J. Rowbothum, 1564. The earliest in *STC* is 1586. *DNB* notes the 1562 edition, the only copy of which is in University College, London.

BALDWIN, WILLIAM. *A treatise of morall phylosophye.* 8°. R. Tottyll, 1571. There is also a copy in the Folger Library.

BORDE, ANDREW. *The breuiary of helthe.* 4°. W. Myddelton, 1547. The earliest in *STC* is 1552. There are also copies in the British Museum, Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Wellcome Historical Museum.

GARDINER, RICHARD, of Shrewsbury. *Profitable instructions for the manuring, sowing, and planting of kitchin gardens.* 4°. E. Allde f. E. White, 1599. The only edition in *STC* is 1603. The Huntington Library also has a copy.

LUPTON, THOMAS. *A thousand notable things of sundrie sorts.* 4°. E. Allde f. E. White, 1612. *STC* cites no ed. between 1601 and 1627. The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, also has a copy.

MARKHAM, GERVASE. *A way to get wealth. The first three bookes gathered by G. M. The last by W. Lawson. Newly corr. and augm.* 4°. f. R. Jackson, 1625. There are copies in the Newberry and Folger libraries.

———. *Markhams faithfull farrier.* 8°. T. C(otes) f. M. Sparke Junior, 1636. *STC* cites no ed. between 1635 and 1638.

RECORD, ROBERT. *The ground of artes. Lately diligently corr.* 8°. H. Middleton f. J. Harison, 1586. *STC* cites no ed. between 1582 and 1590. There is a copy in the McGill University Library.

———. *The urinall of phisicke.* 8°. T. Dawson, 1582. *STC* cites no ed. between 1567 and 1599.

TREASURE. *Here begynneth a good booke of medicines called, the Treasure of Poor Men.* 8°. Rychard Lant, 1547. Recorded in the *Handlist of Books Printed by London Printers 1501-1556*, but no copy is located. E. G. Duff's *A Century of the English Book Trade* (1905) points out that books from Lant's press are remarkably rare, with only two in BM and none at Cambridge. This is the Britwell copy. A copy was recently offered by Robinson, Catalogue 77.

VICARY, THOMAS. *The English mans treasure.* 4°. T. Creede, 1599. This neatly makes the count for the 6th ed., 1613, correct. There is also a copy in the Army Medical Library and the Boston Medical Library.

The following indicate differences in publishing arrangements, which may constitute different editions, according to one's definition of edition:

CARY, WALTER. *A booke of the properties of herbes, called an herball.* 8°. f. A. Kytson, n.d. (*ca.* 1555). Mentioned in Hazlitt, *Handbook.*

LITHGOW, WILLIAM. *The totall discourse of the rare adventures.* 4°. N. Okes, 1632. *STC* has N. Okes, sold by N. Fussell.

MASCALL, LEONARD. *A booke of the arte and maner, how to plante and graffe all sortes of trees.* 4°. H. Bynneman f. J. Wight. n.d. *STC* has H. Denham f. J. Wight, 1572. The two agree in collation. Cf. Hazlitt, *BC&N* II. Later editions terminated on P4 instead of Q2, cf. Ferguson, *Secrets,* Sup. 7, p. 5.

The two following slight variations may be of interest:

SOUTHWELL, ROBERT. *S. Peters complaint and Saint Mary Magdalens funerall teares.* 1620, *STC* 22964, 12mo. This copy is 8°.

STANDISH, ARTHUR. *The commons complaint.* 4°. W. Stansby, 1611. *STC* 23200. The pagination should read pp. 50 i.e. 40; for the numbering jumps from p. 32 to p. 43. With this is bound what appears to be an independent publication: *A Second direction, for the increasing of wood and the destroying of Vermine, this present yeare, 1613, Febr. 1.* 4°. A-B2 in twos. The text differs entirely from: "A second direction, for the present encreasing of Firewood" also dated 1613, February 1, which is appended to *New Directions of experience to the Commons complaint,* 1613, E-F2v, pp. 25-36.

Wing[30]

The following editions are not in *Wing:*

Brief rule of life. For H. Brome, 1672. 24°.

COCK, THOMAS. *Kitchin-physick. Printed for J. B. who desires the Reader to take notice, that he is the next week to return this Book to the Clark, or pay 12d.* n.d. *Wing* C4792 has *For the author, to be sold by T. Basset, 1676.* The reference under title is to Cocke, the spelling of the Epistle Dedicatory. *Miscellanea medica, or A Supplement to Kitchin-physick,* 1675, is bound with this copy, but has separate pagination and signatures. Yale Medical Historical Library recently acquired a copy.

[30] Mr. Donald Wing has kindly given me information about titles in this group which resulted in some deletions from the original listing.

GILBERT, SAMUEL. *The florists vade-mecum.* 2nd ed. corr. For J. Taylor and J. Wyat, 1693. 12°.

Guide to heaven. For H. Brome, 1673. 24°.

JONSTON, JOHN. *A description of the nature of four-footed beasts.* London, for Moses Pitt, 1678. f°. *Wing* J1015A cites only the Amsterdam edition of the same year. The only copy is at Harvard.

LEYBOURN, WILLIAM. *Arithmetick: vulgar. The third edition corrected and inlarged.* J. Streater for G. Sawbridge, 2 pts., pt. 1, n.d., pt. 2, Printed, 1668.

LOVELL, WILLIAM. *The Dukes desk newly broken up.* 8°. London, For the Author, 1660. *Wing* L3247 cites only the Yorke, 1661, ed., which exists only in one copy.

The following indicate changes in publishing arrangements:

COX, NICHOLAS. *The gentleman's recreation.* 4th ed. Printed and sold by T. Carruthers, 1697.

D., N. *The vertues of coffee.* By W. Godbid, 1663. The only copy Wing found has W. G. for John Playford, 1663.

DESCARTES, RENÉ. *A discourse of a method for the wel-guiding of reason.* By Tho. Newcomb for John Holden, 1649. 8°. *Wing* D1129. This copy has an additional title-page, signed A4, By Thomas Newcombe, and are to be sold at his house, implying a publishing arrangement which was not uncommon. The spelling on the second title-page is "well guiding."

DIGBY, SIR KENELM. *A choice collection of rare chymical secrets. For the publisher, and are to be sold by the book-sellers of London, 1682.* *Wing* D1426 has: By the author for the publisher.

HOOKE, ROBERT. *Micrographia.* For John Martyn, 1667. f°.

LEYBOURN, WILLIAM. *Art of Numbering.* For W. Hayes, 1667. 12°. Yale has just acquired a copy.

English Editions of Philip James Bailey's *Festus*

By Morse Peckham

In his recent article, "'Wild Bells' in Bailey's *Festus?*," Professor Hoxie N. Fairchild remarks that "Bailey does not number acts and scenes, and I know of no edition in which the lines are numbered."[1] In fact, Bailey numbered the scenes in two editions of *Festus*, but what the numbering involved can be explained only by a somewhat detailed discussion of the publishing history of the poem.

In the following Table I, "F" refers to the version of the poem, of which Bailey wrote seven, and "B" refers to British editions of the poem.[2] The number of lines in each version from F3 on is only approximately accurate, within ten or fifteen lines either way. I have included the publisher to facilitate identification.

Table I

Version	*Edition*	*Date*	*Number of Lines*	*Publisher*
F1	B1	1839	8103	Pickering
F2	B2	1845	12795	Pickering
F3	B3	1848	15603	Pickering

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, LXIV: 256 (April, 1949).

[2] Elsewhere I have published a partial list of "A" or American editions, of which I have so far located forty. By "edition" I refer to publishers' editions, using the term "version" to refer to Bailey's revisions. (*American Editions of "Festus": A Preliminary Survey*, in: *Princeton Library Chronicle*, 177-184 [June, 1947].)

	(B4[3]	1852)		Pickering
	(	)	19588	
F4	(B5	1854)		Chapman and Hall
	(			
	(B6	1860	19582	Chapman and Hall
	(B7	1864)		
	(	)		
F5	(B8	1866)	23359	Bell and Daldy
	(	)		
	(B9	1872)		
F6	B10	1877	32147	Longmans, Green & Co.
	(B11	1889)		
	(	)		
F7	(B12	1892)	39159	Routledge[4]
	(	)		
	(B13	1903)		

Besides making direct additions to *Festus* in the course of his revisions, Bailey several times included works which he had first published elsewhere. Since this part of the history of *Festus* is always misrepresented, it may be of some use to straighten the matter out here. Four parts of *Festus* were originally published separately: "An Additional Scene to Festus," in the May, 1840, issue of *The Monthly Magazine*, 3rd series, Volume III, pp. 383-409; "The Angel World," in *The Angel World and Other Poems*, London, 1850; "The Spiritual Legend," in *The Mystic and Other Poems*, London, 1855; and *The Universal Hymn*, London, 1867. Some of these works were divided, rejoined, and redivided when Bailey incorporated them in various stages of his major poem. In Table II their place in the poem is indicated

[3] Both B4 and B5 are labelled "Fifth Edition" on the title-page.

[4] The printers were: for B1, Jones, Manchester; for B2, Whittingham, London; for B3, Allen, Nottingham; for B4, B5, and B6, Forman, Nottingham; for B7, B8, and B9, Clowes, London; for B10, Spottiswoode, London; for B11, Bradley, Agnew, and Co., London; and for B13, Motley Press, London.

by "AS," "AW," "SL," and "UH," to which are added "1" and "2" to indicate division. "P" stands for the "Proem."

In F6 Bailey for the first time numbered the scenes of his work, and in F7, having added new scenes and split up others, he renumbered them. In the following table I have adopted the final numbering, and have numbered the scenes of the other editions accordingly. The result is a curious demonstration of the tinkering if not the poetic mind. Italics indicate new or restored scenes.

Table II

F1: (22 scenes) 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 5, 10, 11, 16, 19, 13, 24, 31, 34, 35, 40, 32, 37, 39, 46, 52.

F2: (Proem and 36 scenes) *P(AS1)*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 5, 10, 11, *12*, *38*, *14*, *15*, 16, 19, 13, *23*, 24, *27*, *28(AS2)*, 31, 34, 35, 40, *36*, 32, 37, 39, *43*, 46, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, 52.

F3: (Proem and 36 scenes) P(AS1), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 38, 14, 15, 16, 19, 13, 23, 24, *26*, 27, 28(AS2), 31, 34, 35, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

F4: (39 scenes) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, *9*, 10, 11, 12, 38, 14, 15, 16, *17*, 19, 13, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28(AS1 and 2), 31, 34, 35, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, *18 and 22(AW)*, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

F5: (40 scenes) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 38, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 13, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28(AS1 and 2), 31, 34, 35, *30*, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, 18 and 22(AW), 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

F6: (Proem and 45 scenes) *P*(AS1), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, *8*, 9, 10*(SL1)*, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15*(SL2)*, 16, 17, 19, *20*, *21*, 24, 26, 27, 28(AS2), 30, 31, 32, *33*, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, *41*, *42*, 43, *44(UH)*, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

F7: (Proem and 52 scenes) P(AS1), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10(SL1), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15(SL2), 16, 17, *18(AW1)*, 19, 20, 21, *22(AW2)*, *23*, 24, *25*, 26, 27, 28(AS2), *29*, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44(UH), *45*, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

This table, complicated as it is, can give only a slight idea of the enormous number of revisions in the seven versions of *Festus*.

Professor Fairchild, then, found the passage to which he refers, in F4, B6, Scene: A Country Town—Market-Place—Noon (5): that is, in the fourth version of *Festus*, the sixth British edition, in the scene numbered "V" in the seventh version, or eleventh British edition. It was first published in F2, B2, Scene: A Country Town—Market-Place—Noon (5): that is, in 1845. Whether or not Tennyson read the 1839 version, or F1, he read Professor Fairchild's passage in 1846. If we could know that Tennyson wrote "Ring Out, Wild Bells" after early November, 1846, the temptation to regard *Festus* as a source for Tennyson's lyric would be nearly irresistible.[5]

[5] I am indebted to Professor Alan D. McKillop of The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, for certain basic information about the British editions of *Festus*. So far as I know, in this country only the Princeton University Library has an example of each of the versions of *Festus*. There were American printings of only F2, F3, and F7.

Bibliographical Notes

*Notes on Nuremberg Panel Stamps Before the Reformation**

In an extensive work which has been completed but is as yet unpublished, *Nürnberger Buchbinder vor der Reformation,* I point out, *inter alia,* that thirty different panel stamps based on the pomegranate design were in use in Nuremberg before the Reformation.[1] Similar forms are encountered in isolated instances in other localities in the Germanies. The present notes deal only with special panel stamps which could be identified on only one binding.

The first panel stamp, 78 mm. x 43 mm., is closely related to those with the pomegranate design as far as dimensions are concerned. As revealed in Fig. 1, it represents a bishop in pontifical dress with a halo of sanctity about his head, a book in his right hand, and an episcopal staff in his left hand. A shield composed of a series of rhombic designs covers the lower half of his body. The empty space over his right shoulder is filled with an ornamental foliation with five cusps. The subject is probably St. Rupert, the first bishop of Salzburg and the apostle of Bavaria. The binding belongs to the University of Prague Library under the call number 42 B 1 and contains the *Brevarium Ratisponense* (GW 5,435, pars I), printed by Johann Pfeil in Bamberg in 1495 on the commission of Rupert II, duke of Bavaria-Simmern. Thus the saint and the patron of the same name bear an intimate relationship to the armorial bearings represented on the stamp. The rectangular middle field of the front cover is filled with three horizontal and vertical rows formed by impression of a panel of the pomegranate design, broken in the middle of the upper horizontal row by the St. Rupert stamp. On the basis of evidence yielded by stamps which are used for additional decoration, it is possible to assign this binding to the Augustinian Monastery towards the end of the fifteenth century. There is no manuscript notation of a date which might yield some clue to explain how this breviary so remarkable for its binding managed to find its way to Prague.

* English version by Lawrence S. Thompson.

[1] Two are depicted as Figs. 7 and 8 in my *Nürnberger Klostereinbände der Jahre 1433-1525* (Erlangen dissertation, 1940).

The second binding, preserved in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek under the call number Inc. 2° 361, is depicted in Fig. 2 and portrays the sacred hunt in a panel occupying the entire middle field, 118 mm. x 177 mm. In the upper right-hand corner over the burning bush God the Father appears, and below him, separated by a long S-shaped ribbon (for an inscription), Gabriel is blowing his hunter's horn and holding his spear in his left hand. The right half is completed by three hunting dogs at the bottom, symbols of the virtues, by each one of which is a ribbon (for an inscription). The four ribbons on this panel have no inscriptions, and the text belonging to them was to have been written in by hand. In the middle of the left side sits the Virgin Mary with her nimbus in a garden enclosed by a fence, and the unicorn has fled to her bosom. The gate, unusually high in comparison with the wall, is closed. In the upper part of the garden there is a high sexagonal tower of David in two parts, in front of which there is the sealed spring and on the right side of which is the altar of Aaron with twelve dry rods and a living one in the center. The dove of the Holy Ghost hovers over the middle one. Beneath the spring is a coat of arms with a cross. The skin of Gideon and a bucket of manna are between the Virgin with the unicorn and the garden wall at the bottom. Sun, stars, and clouds appear in the sky.

A similar scene, although with an opposite meaning and a wood-cut, was included among the various items catalogued in the Deutsches Museum in Berlin as Inv. no. 7014. It was described as a German work and assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Graff,[2] the sacred hunt appeared rather frequently in Middle and Southern Germany. A metal plate was undoubtedly used for making the impression on the binding much as copper engravings are made. In the former the drawing was made in a strictly linear style so that the lines which were the natural color of the leather would come out clearly against the gold background. The right side of the impression is not very clear, since apparently insufficient pressure was applied. An inquiry directed some years ago to the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin and to the British Museum in London revealed that no impression of this panel stamp is known in either collection.

Our binding contains the *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* by Bernardus Claravallensis and Gilbertus de Hoilandia, printed in Strassburg in 1497 by Martin Flach (GW 3,937). It comes from the shop designated as

[2] H. Graff, *Die Darstellungen der sakralen Einhornjagd in der altdeutschen Kunst* (Münster dissertation, 1923).

Fig. 1. *St. Rupert*

Fig. 2. *Sacred Hunt*

Fig. 3. *Book-plate of Willibald Pirckheimer*

"Flower Stem Group II" from which I identify 122 bindings in my unpublished study. Twelve of them are decorated with the hunting border which is known in the literature and on which Helwig last wrote.[3] The three-stemmed spiral shoot is a very close imitation (in the reverse) of the wood-cut used by M. Schott of Strassburg from 1483 until at least 1493, although the first shoot was not included in the imitation. Comparison of the two scenes permits us to interpret the woman's attitude as one of begging for help to recover her second child, which had been robbed by the lion. A manuscript note on the inside of the front cover informs us that in 1498 Sebald Reich presented the book to his godmother, Magdalene Holzschuher, who left it to the nunnery of St. Clara. Reich gave it to her on the advice of Dr. Sixtus Tucher, preacher of St. Sebald's.

The third volume, described by Goldschmidt[4] as no. 38 and reproduced by him as Plate XVII, also comes from the same shop. A panel stamp representing the family tree of Jesse, measuring 270 mm. x 170 mm., fills the entire middle field of the front cover. At the lower edge of the scene Jesse, father of David, is sleeping, and from his breast the tree is growing. In its spiraling shoots it enclasps fifteen busts in four approximately horizontal lines with King David at the roots and the Virgin Mary with the Child and St. Ann at the top. The panel stamp and the manner of its impression on the binding correspond in all details to the execution of the panel stamp on the second volume (*i.e.*, with a metal plate). The middle field is bounded by the hunting border *(supra)*. The binding contains Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* (H 14,508) printed by A. Koberger in Nuremberg in 1493. No early notations of ownership are in the book.

The last volume, Will. III 4° 647 of the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg, contains two works by J. Coclaeus, *Quadrivium grammatices* and *Tetrachordum musices*, printed in 1511 in Nuremberg by J. Stuchs or J. Weyssenburger. The panel stamp used for decoration of the front cover, measuring 174 mm. x 119 mm., is almost the same size as that of the second volume discussed in these notes. It contains the book-plate of Willibald Pirckheimer, the counsellor of Emperor Charles V, also with the three-lined tri-glottal superscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the subscription of one line, "Liber Bilibaldi Pirckheimer." Since the

[3] H. Helwig, *Über Einbände zu Schedels "Liber chronicarum" von 1493*, in: *Archiv für Buchbinderei*, 1937, pp. 17-21 (with five illustrations).

[4] E. P. Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings, Exemplified and Illustrated from the Author's Collections* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928).

impression on the binding corresponds exactly with the xylographic book-plate, it is evident that the same wood block was also used for the binding. As Fig. 3 shows, the lines have partially disappeared with the exception of the special upper section devoted to the inscription. Presumably the first impression was not sharp enough, while the second one did not coincide with it exactly. Warnecke[5] describes the book-plate as no. 1584 and reproduces it in the original size in his Plate IV. Recent investigation dates this block prior to 1500.

All four books were bound in Nuremberg, the first three probably towards the end of the fifteenth century, the last in the second decade of the sixteenth century. I have been unable to ascertain the name of the designer of the rich panels used for the second and third volumes. Goldschmidt attributes the family-tree panel of Jesse to Wohlgemut or Pleydenwurff, who are responsible for most of the wood-cuts in Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*. Nevertheless, the repeatedly appearing family trees in this great work vary radically from the binding insofar as the great reduction in size of the binding permits us to determine. It is obvious from Fig. 3 that the designer of the sacred hunt is not to be sought in Nuremberg. We can only be certain in the case of the Pirckheimer book-plate, which was designed by Albrecht Dürer.

Ernst Kyriss

Nathaniel Lee: Three Probable Seventeenth-Century Piracies

Three previously unrecognized early editions of plays by Nathaniel Lee exist, each a careful line-for-line and page-for-page copy of an authorized edition.[1] The first of these is *The Rival Queens*, a reprint of Woodward and McManaway no. 746, and thus another 1694 "second edition"[2] for Richard Bentley. The true 1694 edition title-page reads:

[5] F. Warnecke, *Die deutschen Bücherzeichen von ihrem Ursprung bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, Stargardt, 1890).

[1] The existence of these editions was noticed in my *Supplement to the Woodward & McManaway Check List of English Plays 1641-1700* (Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia Pamphlet, 1949), but without details for identification or determination of order.

[2] Actually, no. 746 is the fourth edition, the play previously having been printed in 1677, 1684, and 1690. The *CBEL* listing of a 1691 edition (no. 745 in Woodward and McManaway) is a "ghost," doubtless based on a misinterpretation of the *Term Catalogue* advertisements.

THE | Rival Queens, | OR, THE DEATH OF | ALEXANDER | THE GREAT. | ACTED AT THE | Theatre-Royal, | BY THEIR | MAJESTIES SERVANTS. | [line of dashes] | By *NAT. LEE*, Gent. | [line of dashes] | ——— *Naturâ ſublimis & acer,* | *Nam ſpirat tragicum ſatis, & feliciter audet.* | Horat. Epiſt. ad Aug. | [line of dashes] | The Second Edition. | [line of dashes] | *LONDON.* | Printed for *Richard Bentley*, at the Poſt-Houſe in *Ruſſel-ſtreet* in *Covent Garden.* 1694.

The other 1694 edition, to which we may assign a Woodward and McManaway number 746a, is easily recognized by its substitution of rules for long dashes in the title and its spelling "Bently" in the imprint. Sig. D1 recto, a typical page, measures 190 (202) x 112 mm. in no. 746, but 195 (204) x 114 mm. in no. 746a.[3] A selection of readings from the 1690 (no. 744) and the two 1694 editions demonstrates that 746 was set from 744, and 746a from 746.

	744	*746*	*746a*
B2^{v}, 39	thickest	thickest	thickes
44	*Chaldæan*	*Chaldæan*	*Chaldean*
B3^{r}, 40	ripens	ripens	repines
B3^{v}, 10	walk	walk	walks
29	Fiends	Fiends	Friends
B4^{r}, 19	Eastward	Estward	Estward

Another example of an extra edition purporting to be printed in the same year occurs in *The Tragedy of Nero,* 1696. Here Woodward and McManaway no. 762 has the title-page:

THE | TRAGEDY | OF | NERO, | Emperour of | ROME: | As it is Acted at the | Theatre-Royal, | By His MAJESTY's Servants. | [rule] | By *NATHANIEL LEE*, Gent. | [rule] | *LONDON*, | Printed for *R. Bentley*, in *Ruſſel-Street* in *Covent-*|*Garden.* 1696.

The title of the other 1696 edition, to which may be assigned a Woodward and McManaway number 762a, has the identical readings but may be distinguished by its swash italic *N*'s in *"NATHANIEL"* from no. 762, which has plain italic letters. In no. 762 page 29 is correctly numbered, whereas it is misnumbered as 92 in the copies of 762a which I have seen. On sig. A3 verso, in the statement of scene, no. 762 reads "Rome" but 762a *"ROME"*. On sig. F4 verso the FINIS in 762 is in italic, but in

[3] No. 746 is held by CLUC, CSmH, CtY (1694 nonce collection), DFo, ICU, MH (1694 collection), PU, and TxU; no. 746a is held by ICN and KU.

762a is printed in roman. No. 762a is a line-for-line and page-for-page copy of 762, but sig. B1 recto in 762 measures 186 (197) x 118 mm. whereas 762a measures 189 (200) x 115 mm. The readings show the order; and since the collation of the 1696 second and third editions differs from the first edition in 1675, there is no question of independent derivation from the first.

		761	*762*	*762a*
A4^{v},	19	Examin	Examin	Examine
	24	Rule,	Rules,	Rules
B1	7	brest	brest	breast
	24	flyes	flyes	flies
	40	*Cæsar,*	*Cæsar,*	*Cæsar!*

As with the two editions of the previous play, copies of the original 1696 edition are commoner than of the reprint.[4]

The third case occurs with the 1697 edition of *Sophonisba,* for which the original title-page (Woodward and McManaway no. 755) reads:

SOPHONISBA: | OR, | **Hannibal's Overthrow.** | A | TRAGEDY. | Acted at the | Theatre-Royal, | By Their | MAJESTIES SERVANTS. | [line of dashes] | *Written by* NATHANIEL LEE, *Gent.* | [line of dashes] | Præcipitandus eſt liber Spiritus. *Petronius.* | [line of dashes] | *LONDON,* | Printed for *Tho. Chapman,* at the *Angel* and *Crown* in the | *Pall-Mall,* M DC XCVII.

The reprint, which we may assign as no. 755a, can be distinguished by a roman instead of a black-letter period after "Overthrow" and by the lack of a hyphen between "Theatre" and "Royal". The text sheets are readily recognized, since the recto running-title "Hannibal's *Overthrow.*" is invariable in 755a, but in 755 this normal form is interrupted by "Hannibal's" with a roman final letter on sigs. B-D2 and E-H4. Sig. B2 recto measures 186 (197) x 112 mm. in 755 but 194 (205) x 111 mm. in 755a. The readings establish that 755a is a line-for-line and page-for-page reprint of 755.

		754	*755*	*755a*
A3^{r},	11	Locks;	Locks;	Locks,
A3^{v},	28	conquest	Conquest	Conquest
	29	crimson	Crimson	Crimson
	30	gore	Gore	Gore

[4] I have seen copies of 762 in IU, KU, NNC (2), and MH (1694 nonce collection). No. 762a I have seen in MH (separate) and MiU.

A4^{v}, 7	posture	posture	Posture
15	Love,	Love,	Love
B2^{v}, 25	crowds	crowds	Crowds
32	Youth,	Youth,	Youth

Copies are more numerous of the earlier of these two 1697 editions.[5]

The status of these reprint editions comes in question and the date or dates at which they may have been printed. One fact, at least, seems clear: we have a choice of assuming that they were piracies or that they were printed as occasion called for them to fill the Bentley 1694 collection made up from available quarto editions.[6] What evidence there is seems to point towards piracy. Although *Nero*, which was otherwise printed only twice in the seventeenth century, is an exception, both *The Rival Queens* (five regular editions) and *Sophonisba* (six regular editions) are the most popular of Lee's plays. Although it was not unknown in the period for a later reprint to repeat the date of its original,[7] the practice was by no means a common one, and to have it happen three times with these Lee editions is asking rather too much of inadvertence.[8] One of the strongest arguments against reprinting to fill up the Bentley collection comes in the *Nero*. If we may trust to the evidence of the Yale copy, which has the 1697 *Sophonisba* but the 1675 *Nero*, Bentley's 1696 edition of *Nero* may have been somewhat forehanded. On the one hand we have this

[5] I have examined of 755 the CtY (1694 nonce collection), ICN, IU, MH (1694 collection), MiU, PU, and TxU copies, and of 755a the CLUC, KU, NIC, and TxU copies. The PU copy is sophisticated, with half-sheet A2.3 supplied from 755a.

[6] In 1694 Bentley affixed a general title-page to groups of quartos (Woodward and McManaway no. 726) to form a shifting collection. Certain of the later editions in the 1690's may have been printed chiefly to fill this collection. Thus of the two recorded examples of this collection in the United States, the Yale volume contains the 1675 *Nero* but the Harvard the first of the 1696 editions. It has not been recorded that there was an earlier nonce collection in 1687 for which a general title-page was printed by Bentley and Magnes. Copies are found at the William A. Clark Library and at Dartmouth. *Mithridates* in the 1693 edition is the latest to appear in the Dartmouth volume. Both titles have the *Princesse of Cleve* (1689) and *The Massacre of Paris* (1690) written in by hand.

[7] For example, the second edition of Part I of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote* repeats the first-edition date of 1694 although printed in 1698; see my *Thomas D'Urfey's "Comical History of Don Quixote," 1694*, in: PAPERS of the Bibliographical Society of America, XLIII (1949), 192-193.

[8] Since D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, Part I, was doubtless reprinted to continue sale of Part I bound with the first or 1694 edition of Part II, it could be argued that retaining the date in this case may not have been simple inadvertence. But no reason would obtain in Bentley's nonce collection for deliberately falsifying the dates.

fact that stray copies of the 1675 *Nero* were still available in 1697 to go into the collection, so that no very severe drain could have been made on the 1696 edition. Yet if we are to believe that at some later date this 1696 edition ran so short that it needed to be reprinted to maintain the collection, we are faced with the fact, on the other hand, that one edition of *Lucius Junius Brutus* sufficed though printed as early as 1681, as well as the single edition of *The Massacre of Paris* in 1690.[9] That Bentley's order for printing copies of the first 1696 edition of *Nero* was so small that after taking account of separate sale it did not equal the remainder copies of these other plays which he was utilizing to make up the collection is very difficult to believe. Finally, for what it is worth, neither of the two 1694 collections known in this country contains any of the reprints in question. Unless a copy of the collection turns up with one of these editions, which would furnish some grounds for argument to the contrary, we may view with suspicion the three editions, described here, as probable piracies.[10]

Whether these piracies were made at approximately the same time, as would seem possible in spite of the fact that the paper differs on which they were printed, or at intervals, is difficult to determine. The earliest edition pirated is 1694 and the latest 1697. That *The Rival Queens* of 1694 rather than the next regular edition in 1699 was reprinted suggests a date of 1697-1698, provided that the plays were printed roughly as a group. Otherwise one has only an indeterminate date anterior to 1699 as applied to this single play.

Fredson Bowers

Quevedo's "Buscón" as a Chapbook

A student of Spanish literature was not greatly stirred by a book-auction item reading:

> Don Pedro Antos, The Manœuvres of the Famous Swindler. Lon. (1803) 16mo Engraved front[ispiece].

[9] The *CBEL* listing of a 1689 edition of the *Massacre* is in error owing to a misinterpretation of the *Term Catalogue* advertisement.

[10] Just possibly other plays by Lee printed about this time may have such reprints also. I have seen five or six copies of each of these, to date, but without turning up a divided edition.

But when he had an opportunity to examine the work cursorily before the sale he became a determined bidder on finding that the title-page read as follows:

THE | MANŒUVRES | OF | DON PEDRO ANTOS, | THE | *FAMOUS SWINDLER OF SEGOVIA.* | Containing various | **Ludicrous Adventures,** | CONNECTED WITH | The Green-market | Farabra's School | The Inn near Alcala | Persecutions at the | College | Disarming the Guard | The Political Projector | The Mad Fencing- | Master | The voluminous Poet | [Vertical rule separating the titles of these eight episodes, which are set in a vertical column, from the following:] | Bombastical Soldier | Segovia | Sham Gentleman on | the road to Madrid | Introduction to the sharp- | ing fraternity there | Excursions | Imprisonment | Descent through the Sky- | light | [Vertical rule separating the titles of these seven episodes, which are set in a vertical column, from the following:] | Marriage Scheme | Mendicant on Crutches | Strolling Players | Toledo | Nunnery Courtship | Seville | Bullies | Resolution to reform, | and departure for the | West Indies. | [Parallel rule] | London: | Printed for TEGG and Co. No. 122, St. John's Street, West Smithfield; | T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, | Dublin. | And sold by Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Bo- | rough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Dingle, Bury; | T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Lamb, T. Matthews, and Messrs. Cowley and | Richardson, Bristol; Messrs. Clarke and Co. M. Swindal, and J. Red- | dish, Manchester; N. Rollason, Coventry; T. Richards and W. Gray, | Plymouth; Harrod and Turner, Nottingham; T. Binns, Leeds; T. | Newling and M. Wood, Shrewsbury; W. Troughton and W. Jones, | Liverpool; J. Legg, Gosport; T. Crookes, Rotherham; J. Belcher, | Birmingham; and every other Bookseller in England, Scotland, and | Ireland.

12°, B-D^6, E^2. Pp. [1-3]-4-40. Plate [I]. 41 lines + headline over a short double rule, and signature and catchword line, 147 (157) x 85 mm. Catchword on every page of text. B 3, C 3, D 3, and E each bear watermark: 1801.

[B] 1^a, title-page; [B] 1^b, J. Cundee, Printer, Ivy-Lane.; B 2 [p. [3]]-E 1^b, text, preceded [on p. [3]] by a double rule across the page and the heading: MANŒUVRES | OF | DON PEDRO ANTOS, | *THE SWINDLER.*

Plate [I] line engraving, by Barlow after Vaughn, frontispiece. This bears in cursive the legend: The History of Don Pedro Antos. | London. Published by Tegg & C°, Jan^{y} 15th, 1803.

175 x 97 mm. Bound in dark-blue cloth with "DON PEDRO ANTOS" on the spine in gilt. The first binder's flyleaf has been torn out and the frontispiece and title-page are slightly water-stained. [In possession of the writer.]

When the student's bid was successful and he set out to examine the contents of his book in detail, he found—as he had suspected from the list of the incidents in which the "swindler of Segovia" participates—that he had acquired an English adaptation of Quevedo's *Historia de la vida del Buscón*. He noted that his book contained all the important episodes of Quevedo's famous work, but that they were told without benefit of chapter division in a continuous and very much condensed narrative.

From the fact that the narrative contains many of the very apt turns of phrase which gave Captain John Stevens's early eighteenth-century (1707) translation of the *Buscón* its racy flavor, it is easy to deduce that this must have served as the basis for the streamlined summary of the rewriter. The principal innovation made by the rewriter is in the proper names which he gives his characters in what seems to be a conscious attempt to disguise them beyond recognition. The father of the protagonist, for example, Quevedo's Clemente Pablo (Stevens's Clement Paul), is rechristened Pedro Antos; his mother, Aldonza Saturno de Rebollo, daughter of Octavio de Rebollo Codillo and granddaughter of Lepido Ziuraconte (Stevens uses the same names), becomes Danata Lucretia di Bellaros, daughter of Allovia de Bellaros Allangro and grandchild of Dorido Perallas; his schoolmate Diego, the son of Don Alonso Coronel de Zuñiga (Stevens writes Zunniga for Zuñiga), becomes Don Perez, the son of Don Alonso (sometimes Alphonso) Almagro Puntada de Atalapanxa; the niggardly schoolmaster, the classical Cabra, becomes Farabra, etc., etc. But, at times, several of the names first used by Stevens are still pressed into service.

The attempt to establish the identity of the rewriter soon led to the person of Thomas Tegg (1776-1845) of the firm of Tegg and Company by whom the work was published. According to Henry Curwen, whose *A History of Booksellers, The Old and The New* (London, Chatto and Windus [1874]), pp. 379-398, gives a full and interesting account of Tegg's life, he was a bookseller for some time in the "Remainder Trade," a book auctioneer, writer and publisher. His earliest publications consisted of a series of pamphlets—some two hundred in all—printed in duodecimo, with frontispieces, containing abridgments of popular works. These were amazingly successful and caused Tegg's name to be mentioned in Carlyle's famous petition on the Copyright Bill. Tegg is generally believed to have been the original of the character Twigg in Hood's *Tylney Hall*.[1]

[1] Curwen, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

The rarity of *Don Pedro Antos*, or its insignificance, is evidenced by the fact that it does not appear in either Lowndes or the British Museum Catalogue. It may have been one of Tegg's less popular adaptations, but there seems little reason to doubt that it is one of his early chapbooks. In any event, it is one more item to add to the rather long list of translations which bear witness to the popularity of Quevedo's sarcastic wit among the English reading public.

E. Herman Hespelt

Kipling's "American Notes" and Mark Twain Interview

It has been generally assumed by bibliographers and collectors of Kipling that the M. J. Ivers edition of *American Notes* was an out-and-out piracy. The copy exhibited twenty years ago at the Grolier Club (and now in the W. B. O. Field Collection in the Houghton Library at Harvard) is autographed in Kipling's usual manner, with a line drawn through his printed name, and his signature written above it. Near the foot of the page Kipling has written

(all pirated)
imperfect & inaccurate.

The page is reproduced as Plate XIV in *Catalogue Of The Works Of Rudyard Kipling Exhibited At The Grolier Club From February 21 To March 30, 1929*, New York, 1930.

When Kipling visited San Francisco in the summer of 1889, he wrote, "Protect me from the wrath of an outraged community if these letters are ever read by American eyes."[1] But did he try to keep them from us? On July 6, 1890, *The World* (New York) printed an interview which Kipling had granted to their special correspondent in London seven days earlier. "I am a newspaper man," said Kipling, "so I wrote what I had to tell to the newspapers. They were my first impressions of the country, hurriedly written of course, but I mean to publish them in book form some day."

The special correspondent, who signed himself "T.G.", wrote: "If these letters are ever republished in book form, or any other form which will give the great American public a chance to get at them, Rudyard Kipling's name is Dennis so far as personal popularity in the United States

[1] *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, India, November 30, 1889.

goes. . . . I should advise Mr. Kipling to defer publishing this correspondence until he has revisited America and left it with the intention of never going back there."

Apparently Kipling gave T. G. *carte blanche* with his notebooks, for the correspondent of *The World* sent home a four-column article, more than half of which was direct quotation from the *From Sea To Sea* letters, which the author had sent to *The Pioneer* of Allahabad, India. In fact, *The World* article contains a long excerpt from one of *The Pioneer* letters which has never been collected, and can be known only to readers of the Indian newspaper[2] or *The World* of Sunday, July 6, 1890. It deals severely with American journalism.

Kipling's remarks to his interviewer are neither better nor worse than the best and the worst in his American letters. Here is Kipling saying sweet things of us: "I want to go back to America this year if I can. Met some wonderfully nice people there. The Americans are nearer to my life than the English. They resemble our Anglo-Indians in square dealing and frankness of speech. When they have anything to say they say it."

And here is Kipling speaking to the reporter on another subject: "—the women's voices gave me the impression that they should be shut up and fed on oil for a year. . . . I found myself wondering whether it was true, as the East had taught me, that women have no souls. The motions of their minds were like unto the jumpings of grasshoppers in a bait-box."

In January, February, and March, 1891, a London newspaper called *The Detroit Free Press* published a considerable portion of Kipling's letters from America to *The Pioneer*. What is not generally known is that these letters appeared in at least three American cities, on seven successive Sundays. The newspapers which printed the letters from January 11, 1889, to February 22 were the *New York Herald*, the *Philadelphia Press*, and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. Moreover, the second of the letters, dealing with San Francisco and the Bohemian Club, the letter of January 18, appeared on January 18 in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

It is not likely that newspapers so far apart as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco could have printed an article simultaneously unless that article had been syndicated. Is there any more tangible evidence of syndication?

On February 3, 1891, the editor of *The Detroit Free Press* wrote this curt note to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette:*

[2] *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, India, December 7, 1889.

Dear Sir,—The *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 3rd states that the articles on America by Mr. Rudyard Kipling appear in *The Detroit Free Press* and the *New York Herald*. The *Herald* may be publishing the articles in America, but *The Detroit Free Press* has the exclusive right to publish them in Great Britain.

In the spring of 1889, when S. S. McClure was forming his syndicate, he sent his younger brother to England for the purpose of enlisting British authors in a plan that would make it possible for them to sell their writings to American periodicals and newspapers without fear of pirating publishers. (It is well to bear in mind that the Copyright Law did not become effective until July 1, 1891.) Late in 1889, or early in 1890, young R. B. McClure was talking to Edmund Gosse, who had met Kipling at Andrew Lang's home. Gosse praised Kipling, and McClure went to visit him at the Embankment Chambers in Villiers Street. Then he wrote home, recommending that the McClure Syndicate make a deal with the young author.[3]

It has not been established that the McClures bought the American letters, but in a postscript to a letter written from London on March 19, 1891, to "Dear Maclure," Kipling says: "Those American letters have raised a big breeze for their little expanse of canvas. You should see some of the anonymous letters your agency has let me in for. They ain't polite!"[4]

No two of the newspapers printing the American letters presented them in exactly the same manner. Headings and captions differ, some present cartoons, some do not, and different editors make differing selections from the material at hand. However, it is extremely significant that, heading for heading, caption for caption, and paragraph for paragraph, the M. J. Ivers pirated *American Notes* is a faithful copy of the letters as they appeared in the *New York Herald*. One difficulty arises in ascribing the text of the Ivers edition to the columns of the *New York Herald:* The last of the letters appeared in the *Herald* on February 22, 1891, and *American Notes* proclaims, on its cover, that it was "Entered at Post-Office, New York, as Second-Class Matter . . . February 14th. 1891."

Neither the United States Copyright Office nor the Post-Office Department is of any help in solving the problem, for *American Notes* was not copyrighted, and the New York City Post-Office destroys records of publications which have been discontinued for more than five years. But

[3] *Really Discovering Kipling*, in: *Bookman*, XXXVIII: 99-101 (October, 1913).

[4] Lucile Russell Carpenter, *Rudyard Kipling: A Friendly Profile* (Chicago, Argus Books, 1942), p. 31.

there are two possible explanations of the inconsistency of the dates in question. Firstly, it may be that M. J. Ivers had an accomplice on the staff of the *New York Herald* who was able to give him the text in advance of publication. A more likely theory centers about a practice common in the 'nineties. Publishers of paper-backed novels in those days frequently ran their books in series, a week apart and in numerical sequences, regardless of actual dates of issue. (*American Notes* was no. 230 of Ivers' "American Series.") Doing this assured them of continuing second-class mailing privileges. In other words, *American Notes* could very easily have appeared several weeks later than February 14, and the postal authorities would have been none the wiser. But a further consideration indicates that the Ivers date cannot be correct. It is known to Kipling bibliographers that *American Notes* is really a double-barrelled first edition, for it contains, also, the first book-printing of Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Bottle Imp*. The original appearance of this story was in four Sunday installments of the *Inter Ocean News* (Chicago), February 8, 15, 22, and March 1, 1891. Given the choice of believing that Ivers had secret agents in both New York and Chicago, or that he manipulated the dates of his "American Series," this writer inclines to the latter belief—that M. J. Ivers was rather easy-going in his dealings with the United States Post-Office Department.

The first complete Kipling letter to appear in an American newspaper was his interview with Mark Twain, which the *New York Herald* printed on August 17, 1890. In answer to a question concerning this *From Sea To Sea* letter, Mr. C. L. Nicholson, Kipling's secretary, wrote in 1934: "It was not written for the *New York Herald* but must have been taken in the absence of copyright by that Journal the year after it was written. Mr. Kipling was never a contributor to the *New York Herald*."[5] However, no earlier version of this letter is known, and the final paragraph, uncollected, is significant. It is a criticism of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, which was filed in the Library of Congress on December 5, 1889, and published in London the following day. Although *Century Magazine* presented two chapters of the book in November, it is extremely unlikely that Kipling read the book before December 6. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Kipling wrote the Mark Twain letter in 1889, and may even have sent it to *The Pioneer;* but if so, it was not printed. It is also possible—and quite likely—that in the spring of 1890, after his sudden rise to fame, Kipling added the *Connecticut Yan-*

[5] *American Book Collector*, 2: 43 (February, 1934).

kee reference to his letter on Mark Twain and authorized A. P. Watt, his literary agent, to sell it. The paragraph in question now achieves its first American printing since August 17, 1890:

Later.—Oh shame! Oh shock! O fie! I have been reading the new book which you also will have read by this time—the book about the Yankee animal in the court yard. It's * * * but I don't believe he ever wrote it; or, if he did, I am certain that if you held it up to a looking glass or picked out every third word or spelled it backward you would find that it hid some crystal clean tale as desirable as Huck Finn.

RUDYARD KIPLING.

ISRAEL KAPLAN

The Ivers edition of *American Notes* is listed in Isidore Rosenbaum Brussel's *Anglo-American First Editions* (London, Constable; N. Y., Bowker, 1936), Vol. 1, "Describing First Editions of English Authors whose books were published in America before their publication in England," p. 111. *Cf.* the Introduction by Graham Pollard, p. 3: "Although Mr. Brussel is primarily concerned to describe first editions, he has, in fact, made a first step towards a bibliography of American piracy." *Editor.*

Book Reviews

VAIL, R. W. G. *The Voice of the Old Frontier.* [Seal] Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xii, 492 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches. $15.00.

It is hard to imagine a more useful tool for investigators of any phase of the history of the American frontier than Mr. R. W. G. Vail's recently published *Voice of the Old Frontier.* Everything that one wants to find is here, adequately described, well arranged, with several locations for almost every book. It is, indeed, so rich in materials, that a first reading sent me scurrying to two big libraries to rewrite so many pages of research, which I had fondly thought already finished, that it is hard to find time to do a review adequately commending the book that caused it all.

The Voice of the Old Frontier is ninth in the series of Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania. It consists of two entirely distinct parts. Three introductory chapters and a "Conclusion" represent what Mr. Vail had to say on those distinguished academic occasions. In this part of the book, Mr. Vail discourses pleasantly and competently on the delights and difficulties of frontier bibliography, which include the problem of evaluating the information an historical writer finds in many of the early books and pamphlets. "Most of the seventeenth-century reports of the new settlements were inspired promotion literature," he warns the unwary. And indeed the voice of the press-agent rings through some of them—even very early issues—so clearly that one hesitates to trust at least half of their statements, especially any "facts" that might have helped attract colonists or sell land.

Yet these are no worse as historical sources than many another; and the story of America's frontiers will never be written unless one uses these dubious old books. The great value of Mr. Vail's book is that it brings them all together, gives a friendly warning when the facts are more outrageously askew than usual, and by giving the writer so much to choose from, enables him to choose aright—or at least to choose as nearly aright as is possible after so many years.

Some of these early accounts of early American days are quite clearly not press-agentry at all. Some of them are quite the reverse, notably Ward's *Trip to New England* (1699), which Mr. Vail calls "lively and rather naughty." It is just that, and it is also a wholesome change from the usual picture of the sanctified fathers of early New England. "Bishops, bailiffs and bastards," says Ward, with rather more accuracy than alliteration usually gives, "were the three terrible persecutions which chiefly drove our unhappy brethren to seek their fortunes in our forreign [*sic*] colonies." It isn't altogether true, of course, but it is, as Mr. Vail says, "a sprightly corrective of the familiar picture of long-faced piety." It helps, he thinks, to understand "some of the more distressing passages" in standard early sources like Bradford and Winthrop.

However interesting Mr. Vail makes his bibliographical disquisitions, the real meat of the book is in the immense bibliography, which comes out exactly even at No. 1300. The entries cover frontier literature from 1542 to 1800 and locate copies in 150 libraries. The bibliography is particularly strong on New York locations, partly because the author's own work is here and partly also because there are so many and such rich libraries in the American metropolis.

Though Mr. Vail modestly and all too truly says that "no bibliography can ever be complete, and every scholar will find titles missing," it is, as a matter of fact, very difficult to find that he has left out anything that really matters. (I know, because I tried.) He apologizes quite needlessly for the occasional use of photographic means. It would be pleasant if one could visit every library in the world, but one can't; and, except where authenticity of type or paper is concerned, photostat and microfilm are practically as good as the real thing. I defy anybody to find a blunder due to photographic methods. This can happen. It happened in a famous (and quite wrong) condemnation of a Folger manuscript; but it can't happen with this sort of work.

Whether this is a book for all time, time itself will have to show. Certainly *The Voice of the Old Frontier* will always have value and it ought to stand as authority for at least another century.

JOHN BAKELESS

Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume II (for 1949-1950). Charlottesville, Virginia, Bibliographical Society of the University of

Virginia, 1949. 4 leaves, 214 pp., 6 plates. 10 x 7 inches. Edition of 1000 copies. $5.00.

The second volume of studies published by the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, issued with a change in title, fulfills the promise of its predecessor both in appearance and in quality. The only two blemishes I have noted are the faulty alignment of the letters in "irresistable" (p. 107, line 18—the spelling is quoted accurately from the author's source) and the failure to indent for a paragraph (p. 200, line 5). In content the volume challenges the attention of bibliographers who specialize in English and American printing from the sixteenth century almost to the twentieth. In addition there is an interesting article on early bindings and another on the reading of Herman Melville.

Since there is insufficient space to review every item with the thoroughness it deserves, or even to enumerate the eleven principal articles and nine shorter communications, I shall perforce limit myself to brief statements about several that have a particular interest for me and conclude with a longer discussion of a paper of general interest.

W. B. Todd's thorough-going study of M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* appears at last to have put the editions and issues in their proper order, to the confusion of earlier bibliographers. The first edition, prepublication issue, Mr. Todd dates "in the summer of 1795." C. W. Miller's excellent account of Roger Boyle's *Parthenissa* is calculated to win ready assent, even though this involves the rejection of the findings of so great a bibliographer as Henry Bradshaw. The penetrating investigation by L. G. Starkey of some of the problems to be found in the Cambridge, Massachusetts, edition of 1649 of *A Platform of Church Discipline* results in a reversal of several of the findings of G. P. Winship. This book, the first from the press of the third Cambridge printer, was almost certainly printed before October 19, 1649; and the first state of the imprint is surely that which reads, "Printed at *Cambridge* by *S G* in *New England*." Furthermore, the half-sheet fold in the preliminary gathering contains the title-page, and it was probably not printed by half-sheet imposition. My only reason for saying "probably" is that if the title-page of the John Carter Brown copy were supplied from another exemplar (a most unlikely occurrence), Mr. Starkey's proof of printing by cut sheets would not be mathematically certain.

There are four good contributions to the study of Shakespeare. Philip Williams, Jr., has a discussion of the "second issue" of *Troilus and Cressida*

(1609) which is generally sound, though until more is known about wooden composing sticks too much emphasis should not be placed on his third point (p. 29); and it would help to be told specifically that in the "first issue" the title-page is A 1. G. W. Williams goes far to establish the probability of the correctness of Pope's emendation of *King Lear*, III, ii, 1-3, so that the accepted text should read:

> Blow windes, and crack your cheeks; rage, blow!
> You Cataracts and Hurricano's, spout
> Till you have drench'd our Steeples, drown'd the Cockes.

I. B. Cauthen, Jr., offers an ingenious and plausible identification of the "old ballad" which Sir Toby Belch begins to sing in *Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 91, as the well-known carol of the Christmas-Epiphany season, "The Twelve Days of Christmas." And G. E. Dawson adds another well-reasoned chapter on Warburton and Hanmer to his study of the editions of Shakespeare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The subject of early book bindings is rarely discussed in American journals for the reason that few Americans are qualified to contribute to the literature of the subject. It is a pleasure, therefore, to come upon Eunice Wead's account of "Early Binding Stamps of Religious Significance" with its excellent gravure illustrations. I hope that in her travels Miss Wead will come to the Folger Shakespeare Library and examine, among others, the binding on a copy of the first edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (1531) and the even more beautiful one on A. La Sale's *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage* (1509), which has a fine panel showing "Virgo Sancta Katherina Grecie Gema."

Welcome as are the detailed studies of particular books, the papers which describe new bibliographical methods and techniques are even more so, and we have come to expect just such contributions from Fredson Bowers, editor of the Virginia *Studies in Bibliography*. "Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure" is a report of his observation and analysis of variations from page to page or forme to forme in the measurement of the type page in certain Restoration play quartos. Moxon explains that it was customary in his day for each compositor to own a composing stick in addition to those supplied for general use by the owner of the shop. The stick was made of iron plate and the "Sliding-Measure," as Moxon calls it, was provided with a groove through which passed the adjusting screw. This construction permitted the greatest possible flexi-

bility in determining the length of the line; but once the adjustment had been changed, as from setting verse to setting prose, the greatest care would be required to reset the "Sliding-Measure" so as to secure a line of precisely the same length. The metal composing stick came into general use some time before 1683, the date of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*. And while it is presumed that in earlier times each compositor was expected to possess a set of sticks of varying sizes, one for each customary measure, I do not find explicit statements covering this point.

In the course of making minute bibliographical examinations of hundreds of Restoration play quartos, Bowers has given particular attention to those whose headlines suggest that two or more skeleton formes were used. In these plays there are apt to be—perhaps always are—lines of different measure. Paper shrinkage and the use of very thin spaces to justify lines make it necessary to be cautious in the interpretation of variations. These do not normally exceed 2 mm., he tells us; if the difference in measure exceeds this, the presence of a different composing stick is to be suspected.

Variations in the measure can be the key to the unlocking of important bibliographical and literary information. Thus in John Crowne's *Married Beau* (1694) it is readily apparent that B-F were set to one measure and G-K to another. Quire F consists, however, of only three leaves, and it may be shrewdly suspected that the disjunct fifth leaf of preliminaries, which corresponds in measure to B-F, was printed as F 4. Southerne's *The Disappointment* (1684) presents a more complex problem, but we must await the forthcoming publication of Bowers's article in *The Library* for the presentation of his evidence for believing that there was no cancel in sheet E, as earlier commentators have supposed.

This new technique will be especially useful in the study of cancels and as a control in the attribution of work to two or more compositors working on the same book. But, as Bowers is aware, it must be used cautiously. I could wish that he had emphasized the danger of misinterpretation of phenomena that originate in changes of measure resulting from accidental loosening of the adjusting screw of the composing stick. Since minute variations could occur without necessitating a change in the furniture, compositors had little incentive to reset their sticks with absolute accuracy; and thus a compositor might unintentionally vary his measure from time to time and put bibliographers on a false trail.

Obviously there should be a companion study of early books, though perhaps this would be relatively easy, wooden composing sticks being, to

the best of our knowledge, not adjustable.[1] Important discrepancies should almost infallibly be the clue to the presence of more compositors than one[2]—unless it were the custom for compositors to have more sticks than one of approximately the same measure. In particular I should like to see the results of an examination of early plays, for I suspect that when setting a page of mixed verse and prose, the compositor often set his measure for the prose line. I suspect also that when there are indentations for speech-tags and also when there are marginal stage directions, the compositor used the longer measure.

JAMES G. MCMANAWAY

WINTERICH, JOHN T. *Three Lantern Slides. Books, the Book Trade, and Some Related Phenomena in America: 1876, 1901 and 1926.* Urbana, The University of Illinois Press [c1949]. xiv, 109 pp. 8⅜ x 5½ inches. $2.50.

The Phineas L. Windsor Lectures in Librarianship at the University of Illinois Library School are off to an auspicious start with these three lectures delivered by Mr. Winterich in April, 1949. While not exclusively, or primarily, concerned with librarianship, such names as Melvil Dewey (Melville Louis Kossuth Dewey originally, as Mr. Winterich did not fail to discover), R. R. Bowker, the A.L.A., and the odd notion held by some librarians that libraries should compete with bookstores enter the picture occasionally. Barrett Wendell's course in comparative literature at Harvard was popularly known as "A Romp Through the Ages with Barrett Wendell." This book might similarly be called "A Guided Tour Through the *Publishers' Weekly*" which Mr. Winterich justly calls "the obvious and essential reservoir of information about the dissemination of books in America—a serial history of publishing and bookselling." However, to the enumeration of facts about best-sellers, price-cutting, good printing and bad, censorship and book clubs is added the

[1] "The composing sticks were originally of hard wood, without any sliding adjustment; one set, all the same, were for folio pages, another for quarto, another for octavo." William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton* . . . . (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1882.) 2d ed. p. 123. See also the illustration on p. 124.

[2] Working independently, Prof. George R. Price uses the length of measure in estimating the number of compositors engaged in the printing of Middleton's *A Faire Quarrell* (1617)—see his notes in *The Library*, ser. 5, IV: 138-140 (September, 1949).

constant play of the author's lively wit, literary allusion, and sense of the past. Readers of Mr. Winterich, who should be as numerous as they are constant, will be glad to have this collection to add to his *The Romance of Great Books, Twenty-Three Boooks,* and other books about books.

This one is not entirely free from error. After all these years, Walter Prichard Eaton again appears as "Pritchard" (p. 67), while on the opposite page Conrad's biographer should be Georges Jean Aubry, not Jean Aubrey. On page xiii we find:

> "Mrs. du Maurier called her husband Kiki," Mr. Bowker told me, "but don't say that—don't say that." I have never said it until now, and I hope his shade will forgive me.
>
> That incident, by the way, is the only contribution to knowledge in this book. The rest of it has been an assembly job.

Unfortunately, the contribution was made some years ago, by Daphne du Maurier, in her *The du Mauriers* (1937) and *Gerald: a Portrait* (1935). And Mrs. George du Maurier called her husband Kicky, so that any montage suggested by the nickname must omit the image of Miss Lenore Ulric in *Kiki.* As Miss du Maurier explains (p. 112 of *The du Mauriers*), the infant du Maurier had a Flemish nurse who "called him 'manikin'; which he, struggling with his first words, at once translated into 'Kicky'; and so, ironically enough, if the trouble that was taken over naming him be remembered, George Louis Palmella Busson du Maurier became Kicky and remained Kicky to the end of his days."

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

Catálogo colectivo de publicaciones periódicas existentes en las Bibliotecas de la ciudad de México: sección de medicina y ciencias biológicas. Editado por la Comisión impulsora y coordinadora de la investigación cientifica y la Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin. Dirigido por Rudolph H. Gjelsness, Maria Teresa Chavez y Helen M. Ransom. Mexico, D.F., 1949. xviii, 1 l., 494 pp., 2 l. 10 x 7 inches.

Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua. Bibliografía de trabajos publicados en Nicaragua, 1945-1946-1947. Managua, Editorial Nuevos Horizontes, 1948. Title, 4 ll., 63 p., 1 l. 9 x 6 inches. (Serie bibliográfico de la Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua, nos. 7-9.)

Here is a contribution to a union list of periodicals on file (at the end

of 1946) in the libraries of the Federal District of Mexico. It is limited to medicine and the biological sciences. It is issued with sponsorship of the Mexican National Research Council and the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin.

When the latter opened in Mexico City in April, 1942, its first duty was, of course, the serving of books to readers. Quite as important was the foundation of a collection of reference works.

It needs no ghost come from the grave to remind the librarian that one of his really important tools is a guide to and index of the periodical resources of the community. As there was no general record of periodicals currently received by Federal District libraries or of back files on shelves of some libraries, the plea for some kind of a union list came soon and sharply to the front.

At the suggestion of the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin the Rockefeller Foundation gave to the American Library Association money for starting such a list by the new library in Mexico, with the understanding that the work was to be continued by the local librarians once it had been developed into a going concern.

The Department of Library Science of the University of Michigan relieved its chairman, Mr. Rudolph H. Gjelsness, long enough to start the work. The Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin released Señorita Maria Teresa Chavez as his assistant and ultimate editor once Mr. Gjelsness returned to Michigan. Miss Chavez is a Pratt Institute Library School product, with graduate work at Columbia to her further credit. Miss Helen M. Ransom joined Miss Chavez when Mr. Gjelsness returned to Michigan in 1944.

The results are now set forth in this volume of nearly five hundred pages. Entries and collations and location symbols follow closely the form developed in the union lists of serials published in this country. The thanks and the careful attention of librarians, of bibliographers, of all fated or privileged to work with material of this kind are due to the compilers and sponsors. Preliminary and explanatory sections give the names and symbols of collections recorded. The Preface sets forth the steps that led to the work and sketches the types of periodicals included and excluded. The Introduction gives the principles and rules followed in compilation, explains annotations, and adds advice for the general reader.

Mexico may well take satisfaction in thus joining the Argentine and the United States and Canada in this offering. The sad part of the story is the scarcity of "v.1 to date" entries. Every user of the list greets the book with earnest hope that its appearance may lead to filling of the gaps

now and thus revealed. And every one will add the further hope that the study and record may soon be extended to cover the other sciences in the same detail as here given to medicine and biology.

This useful and much-needed record is a welcome addition to the annals of Nicaragua publishing. Would that our other friends in Central America could make the same showing. The preface is signed by Mr. Gaston Litton, Director-Librarian, March 1, 1947. The introduction by his successor, Miss Mary C. Phippeny, is dated May 19, 1948. Title, preface, introduction, division headings, all are in Spanish and English.

Books, pamphlets, government publications, theses, magazines and newspapers, each has a section of the list giving author, title, date, collation; then follows a list of printing and publishing houses as of the latter end of 1947; then four statistical tables; finally a list of the public libraries in the country. The statistical tables record the number of printing and publishing houses with their staffs in 1947; books published year by year between 1943 and 1947, grouped as books, pamphlets, government publications, theses, and magazines; the same items broken down by subjects; booksellers and public and private libraries at the end of 1947; followed by a place list of public libraries in the country, eleven in Managua, two in Leon, one in each of six other cities.

The making of this record called for real pioneer work, persistent and patient. With no central information agency at hand, the compiler, Sr. Enrique Lanzas h., had to visit each city and plod from one print shop to another. Thanks to the interest of the secretary to the President of the Republic, Sr. Lanzas h. was given passes over the railroads, which certainly helped to speed his work and lessen the discomforts. Fancy a man's getting a pass for such a mission in this country!

Earlier issues in the series run thus:

1. *Bibliografía de trabajos publicados en Nicaragua en 1943.* Julio, 1944. 50p.

2. *Lista de libros de medicina, folletos y periódicos, a la orden de doctores y estudiantes de medicina, de Nicaragua, en la Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua, la oficina de la Sociedad Cooperativa de Sanidad y la Escuela Nacional de Enfermeras.* Julio, 1944. 28p.

3. *Lista de los libros adquiridos por la Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua, durante el primer semestre de 1944.* Agosto, 1944. 26p.

4. *Bibliografía de libros y folletos publicados en Nicaragua (en 1942 o antes*

segun fecha de su publicación), que se encuentran en algunas bibliotecas particulares de Nicaragua. Enero, 1945. 158p.

5. *Lista de los libros adquiridos por la Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua, durante el segundo semestre de 1944.* Mayo, 1945. 34p.

6. *Bibliografía de trabajos publicados en Nicaragua en 1944.* Mayo, 1945. 48p.

H. M. LYDENBERG

New Shelley Letters. Edited by W. S. Scott. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949. 9, 170 pp. 5¾ x 8⅝ inches. $3.00.

The editor of this book, Walter Sidney Scott, is the husband of the great-niece of Thomas Jefferson Hogg. The letters included have previously been published by the same editor in *The Athenians* (1943), *Harriet & Mary* (1944), and *Shelley at Oxford* (1944), all three of which were limited editions issued in England.

Of prime interest are the letters by Percy Bysshe Shelley, twenty-nine to Hogg, one a "Draft . . . to a friend." Only ten of the letters to Hogg (nos. 8, 30, 32, 33, 45, 48, 55-56, 72, 75), however, are strictly to be termed "new," since the others were employed, in whole or in part and in varying degrees of alteration, in Hogg's unfinished *Life of Shelley* (1858). Nevertheless, this is the first real opportunity the general public has had to see to what curious uses Hogg put the letters which Shelley had sent him.

Of these perhaps the strangest is Letter 27, dated "Thursday" [possibly December 12, 1811 ?], written by Shelley; it begins, "You deceive yourself terribly. . . ." Hogg printed this, almost in its entirety, as the first part of Chapter XXIX of his biography, entitled "Fragment of a Novel"; the short postscript was printed by Hogg in Chapter XIV as if it were itself a complete letter, the last of eight such sent by Shelley from Keswick. The major alteration in this letter is that in the "Fragment" Hogg changed "Harriet" of the original to "Charlotte"; a minor change, made twice, is "live with us" of the original to "live near us." Hogg otherwise followed the original almost exactly.

One of the most striking Shelley letters is that of October 3, 1814 (Letter 32 of this volume) where he refers to his marriage to Harriet as a "rash & heartless union" and he declares that he "felt as if a dead & living body had been linked together in loathsome & horrible communion."

There are, as well, twenty letters from Mary Shelley to Hogg to be found here.

A strange picture indeed emerges from a perusal of these letters. Shelley is shown attempting in 1811 to join his sister, Elizabeth, and Hogg "irrevocably . . . where you have no priest but love," but the sister refused. Later in the same year Hogg proposed love to Shelley's first wife, but Harriet did not acquiesce; Shelley then apologetically protested to Hogg: ". . . would I be so sottish a slave to opinion as to endeavour to monopolize what if participated would give my friend pleasure without diminishing my own?" Finally, referring to his second wife, Mary Godwin, as "this exquisite possession," Shelley assured Hogg "We will not again be deprived of this participated pleasure."

There are, unfortunately, a number of misreadings in the text; thus (page 64, line 1), "that sensation is something other than terribly strong" should read "that sensation is other than something terribly strong." Again, comparison of the facsimile (facing page 146) with the text indicates two words omitted ("at last") and one word misread ("which" for "while"); on page 147 the text (six lines from the bottom of the page) omits "if you can make her happy," words plainly to be read in the facsimile.

Two omissions may be observed: on page 78 (eight lines from the bottom of the page) a sentence is missing from the text: "How in opposition to her father's will, to Harriet's exertions we still continued to meet." For Letter 37 (page 82) there should have been an indication that there was with this letter an enclosure of a rich chestnut-brown lock of hair in a paper wrapper addressed: "To Alexy from his affectionate Mary."

These are important letters for the bright light they cast on Hogg's and Shelley's love affairs with Harriet and Mary.

THEODORE G. EHRSAM

WETHERBEE, WINTHROP, JR. *Donn Byrne: A Bibliography.* [Edited by Deoch Fulton.] New York, The New York Public Library, 1949. xii, 89 pp. 9 x 5⅞ inches. $3.00.

A full-dress bibliography is usually a scholarly labor of love; it is the more pleasant, therefore, to see one published and put to some use. Even those of minor authors—for, despite the remark in *Twentieth Century Authors* that Donn Byrne's novels "will probably for some time to come continue to delight readers," he is of less than major stature. Two years after his death, he was accorded a full page in the *Dictionary of American*

Biography (1930); however, in the three-volume *Literary History of the United States* (1948) he is limited to a single sentence. On the other hand, a master's thesis at the University of Southern California was written on his life and novels as late as April, 1948; he holds his place, as a collected author, in the latest edition of Merle Johnson's *American First Editions;* and in August, 1949, Little, Brown once more reissued *Destiny Bay.*

Dr. Winthrop Wetherbee's second bibliography of Donn Byrne—the first was reprinted in 1938 from the *Bulletin of Bibliography*—gives the history and description of 22 books, and lists such additional data as 27 unreprinted short stories, 31 miscellaneous writings, translations in various languages, 15 anthologies containing his writings, four dramatizations, 15 cinematizations, and about 500 secondary references. There is, furthermore, an appendix of (1) inscribed Donn Byrne volumes; (2) unanswered bibliographical questions; (3) variants of the name "Donn Byrne"; and (4) a chronology. In this appendix, as well as in the very first sentence of the introduction, Dr. Wetherbee anticipates the possibility of incompleteness.

The first half of the book, giving title-pages, collations, and other data, is virtually a model of its kind, and has the air of having been done with great care. Similarly with the other primary material: stories, articles, plays, movies. Thus if one must cavil, it is at the handling of reference material. First, with the exception of a slight attempt to cite the most important items at the beginning, there is no logical arrangement whatever of secondary sources, either alphabetically or chronologically; for books, articles, chapters, and unpublished material are all scrambled together. Second, this fault is compounded by the lack of an index. Third, with so much less necessary minutiae, one wonders why so many reviews of *Blind Raftery, Hangman's House, Destiny Bay,* and other books listed in Dr. Wetherbee's 1938 bibliography were omitted from the present compilation. Fourth, it might have been well to list the number of pages in full books—that Macauley has 216 pages and Adcock only 10 or 12 is of some interest to a student; and how long is an M.A. thesis? Also, I personally dislike the "library" index-card style of lower case initial letters for book and other titles, and no quotes around titles of short stories and articles. Finally, there are a few typographical slips (such as 1928 instead of 1938 for a review of the first Wetherbee checklist), missing page numbers, dates, or names of authors.

Yet these are more annoying than serious errors. One is surely grateful not only that Dr. Wetherbee has given his collection of Donn Byrne

—of which this bibliography is practically a catalogue—to the New York Public Library, but also that the job is so well done, very neatly printed, and generally excellent. Although he may modestly regard his work as an "amateur production rather than [a] finished professional piece," it will be left for others to pick and chew at the 14 minor unanswered queries, for the volume as a whole undoubtedly will remain the definitive Donn Byrne bibliography.

WILLIAM WHITE